A Strategic Study of the State of Human Relations in Greensboro: Uncovering Institutional Discrimination to Promote Equal Opportunity

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The University of North Carolina at Greensboro's (UNCG) Social Research Group partnering with colleagues from North Carolina Agricultural and Technical (NCA&T) State University's Department of Sociology conducted a study of the state of human relations in Greensboro, North Carolina February to June 2008. The purpose of the study is to provide data and recommendations for the City of Greensboro Human Relations Department's Five Year Strategic Plan. The project included three principal components:

1. This Report on Human Relations, which covers the primary areas of human relations, and provides recommendations for the Five-Year Plan.
2. A State of Human Relations Methodology for conducting annual or periodic studies. The methodology is based on the study and its results, and is submitted with the final version of the report.
3. A public presentation of the study results within three months of the report's completion and upon acceptance by the Human Relations Commission, date to be determined by the Human Relations Department, based on the availability of the Principal Investigator.

While the purpose of this study was to examine discrimination, access to opportunities, and inter-group relations generally, the charge to the Social Research Group was to focus on four primary areas of interest: employment/economics, housing, education, and law enforcement. The primary social/demographic categories under study included race and ethnicity, disability, gender, sexual orientation, and immigrant status. Conducted from January 2008 through June 2008, the project included a mixed set of research methods to study these issues—review of previous research, focus groups, interviews, written surveys, face-to-face surveys, and web-based surveys (See Appendix A).

I. BACKGROUND

The mandates of the City of Greensboro's Human Relations Department are to:
- promote equal opportunity in employment
- advocate fair housing
- advance fair and non-discriminatory public accommodations—particularly education and law enforcement
- hear complaints

The City of Greensboro has several reasons for conducting a study on the State of Human Relations at this time. These include the following:
1) ten years have passed since the last report on discrimination and inter-group relations was conducted;
2) recent results from the HUD Impediments to Fair Housing Report show that ethnic discrimination in housing is rampant in Greensboro;
3) many residents of the city have expressed concerns that the findings of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission have not been addressed by the City of Greensboro;
4) city government and residents have begun to address the issue of gang activity;

5) a recent Action Greensboro project reported that race is the most serious issue in the city;
6) the Social Capital Benchmark Study (2001 and 2006) pointed out the importance of developing trust between city government and the public; and
7) the Human Relations Department's Five-Year Strategic Planning process will necessarily address discrimination and equal opportunity.

Generally, Human Relations efforts promote respect for social and cultural diversity and extend public services into the community by investigating discrimination and supporting equal opportunity not only based on race, but also on statuses such as disability, gender, sexual orientation, immigrant status, familial status or religion. Human relations offices must balance their reaction to complaints with the promotion of equal opportunity. Grievances must be heard and remediation attempted, but research must also be conducted to find out how to best address the root causes of discrimination. As the City of Greensboro Human Relations Department undertakes an effort to identify and ameliorate challenges to equal opportunity/non-discriminatory practices, a comprehensive understanding of past and present discrimination in the city will allow the department to nurture the city's partnership with civic groups and leaders to improve opportunities for all.

In the face of the changing racial and ethnic makeup of cities across the United States, Greensboro provides an important case. First, North Carolina has a higher than average percentage of African Americans when compared to other states. Compared to other large cities in North Carolina, Greensboro at 37% African American is tied for third with Winston-Salem, behind Durham at 44% and Fayetteville at 42% African American, based on the 2000 Census. In addition, 10 percent of Greensboro's residents were born outside the United States, and 45 percent were born outside North Carolina. Moving forward, the experience of Greensboro could become a model for addressing human relations in the face of demographic change.

This report is organized as follows:
   I.   Background
   II.   Summary of Methodology
   III. Results
   IV.   Recommendations

II. SUMMARY OF METHODOLOGY

The project team determined that a multi-method approach would be most appropriate to understand the perceptions and experiences of Greensboro residents in issues of discrimination and access to opportunities. Since each method has certain disadvantages, the use of five different methods of data collection reaches a larger and more diverse group of respondents and strengthens the research findings. Each technique for engaging stakeholder groups and relevant populations was designed sequentially to feed into the development of another technique (see Appendix A).

The primary methods for this project's data collection included the following, the first three of which are first to be analyzed below and which constitute the bulk of the report:

1. Fourteen diverse **focus groups** that included 95 participants and key stakeholders (March-June 2008)
2. Fourteen **in-depth interviews** with members of various demographic groups (Mar-Apr 2008)
3. **Survey questionnaires** by phone, in-person, or on the web with 1168 individuals through a stratified sample to adequately represent certain groups (e.g., people with disabilities, immigrants, and members of the gay/lesbian community) (May-June 2008)
4. Tabulation and analysis of past ten years of **discrimination complaints** to Commission on employment, housing, educational opportunity and law enforcement, among other topics (June 2008)
5. **Secondary document analysis**, involving review of prior reports from other studies; 67 reports reviewed (January-February 2008)

Particular attention was paid in the selection and training of the researchers to ensure sensitivity and diversity in the ages, genders, and races of the focus group facilitators, note takers, and interviewees (see Appendix A for the more detailed summary of the research methodology). Researchers also "triangulated" the research findings, looking for similarities and differences between focus group patterns and patterns that emerge from individual surveys to further reinforce the validity of the major concepts proposed. The broad objectives for coding and analysis were to understand:

- types of prejudicial behavior and discrimination
- variation between different groups in their experiences (which groups experience what kinds of prejudice and discrimination)
- how people see their access to information and opportunities affected by their own socio-demographic characteristics
- how people see access to information and opportunities affected by race, gender, etc.
- dominant themes
- specific options for improving access to information and opportunities, reducing discrimination, improving inter-group relations and reducing 'isms'
- ways in which levels of social organization relate to the above issues

III. RESULTS

The results of this research project are presented in seven sections:

A. Prejudicial Behavior – Focus Groups and In-depth Interviews
B. Prejudicial Behavior – Surveys
C. Major Life Events Discrimination – Focus Groups and In-Depth Interviews
D. Major Life Events Discrimination – Surveys
E. Discussion of Overall Themes in Human Relations in Greensboro
F. Complaints to Greensboro Human Relations Commission
G. Results of Prior Studies

Throughout the research, whether in the surveys, focus groups, or interviews, the questions for respondents are about their experiences with two broad categories of experiences:
   a) **prejudicial behavior** that includes lack of respect, name-calling, fear of differences, and harassment; and
   b) **major life events discrimination** that includes systematic discrimination in areas of employment, housing, education, or law enforcement.

Prejudicial behavior is a kind of human relations that creates an atmosphere where people of some groups are made to feel less important or unsafe. In general, these forms of discrimination are interpersonal and do not necessarily mean that resources or information are being withheld, or that people are being prevented from accessing resources or information. This kind of human relations is presented in the first two sections. The following sections are comprised of analyses of reports by residents of **major life events discrimination** in which unfair treatment—such as restricted access to resources or information—has occurred in employment, housing, education or law enforcement**.** Both of these broad categories include analysis of the focus group, in-depth interview and survey data to provide insight into the specific ways that different groups experience both interpersonal prejudicial behavior and major barriers in accessing resources and information.

A. Prejudicial Behavior – Focus Groups and In-depth Interviews
In this section the results of the dozens of hours of focus group and individual in-depth interviews are reported. They help explain the survey results that follow in section B.

In general, concerning human relations, Greensboro residents appreciated the size of Greensboro, its diversity and population heterogeneity, and many felt it was a place where they have family and roots. Several other developments and initiatives were cited as positive, including: having a Black mayor, having the first Truth and Reconciliation Commission, the ease of getting places by car, ample educational opportunities, and numerous and exciting cultural and music festivals. However, people also considered Greensboro a city of contradictions, such as when one resident talked about the positive role that Greensboro played in the Civil Rights movement, but also said that Greensboro "feels like five cities, not one city." In other words, in addition to liking life in Greensboro, many perceived it to be a segregated city where, according to another resident echoing the statements of others, "there are historical issues that have not been dealt with that influence where people live."

Prejudicial behavior is appropriately termed interpersonal relations, group relations or race relations, as comments in these areas suggest internalized attitudes of prejudice without necessarily preventing access or presenting barriers to opportunities, information and resources. More specifically, four specific kinds of prejudicial behavior emerged as salient in discussions and interviews:
1) attitudes of ignorance, fear, dishonesty or inferiority;
2) lack of courtesy and respect;
3) insults and name calling; and
4) threats and harassment.

These four types lie on a continuum of the degree to which behavior is indirect vs. direct, or passive vs. aggressive. Different demographic groups reported distinctive patterns of interpersonal relations and internalized attitudes of prejudice. Some experiences with these human relations are direct confrontations between two individuals. Others are more indirect, such as attitudes or feelings conveyed through subtle behaviors or inaction.

1. Attitudes of ignorance, fear, distrust or superiority

Displays of attitudes of ignorance, fear, distrust and superiority were the most common among the forms of prejudicial behavior. Greensboro residents provided examples and personal stories concerning this form of prejudicial behavior concerning race/ethnicity, gender, disability, as well as sexual orientation.

Race, ethnicity and fear

The majority of race/ethnicity discrimination in this category was indirect, or identifiable only by passing comments. In many cases, fear was the main expression of emotion, and in some, the fear functioned to keep ethnic groups isolated from one another:

> Sometimes our antennas go up…I see a lady grab her bag and think, "Oh, lady please!" That especially happens with African American males. [African American female 4-8-2008]

> When people interact in Greensboro they do so with a great deal of misunderstandings of other races. The backgrounds of others cause fear. [African American male 4-12-2008]

> My neighborhood has pockets of minorities and I hear comments like "You don't want your children playing with them (children from a multicultural apartment complex) because they have many races." [African American female 4-5-2008]

> Latinos are the scapegoats these days. They're taking jobs away, you hear people say 'Why don't they learn the language?' You hear people think their land is being invaded. It's huge. [Caucasian female 4-3-2008]

> The media discriminates in their one-sided reporting of negative events instead of highlighting the positive events, and that causes fear. [African American 3-18-2008]

> I have lived here 12 years and was initially surprised at being asked for ID when I used my credit card but the white person in front was not. I wasn't expecting it, but am accustomed to it now. [African American female 4-8-2008]

Race, ethnicity and superiority

Expressing shock, surprise, or disdain to see African-Americans in positions of power indirectly implies a feeling of superiority. Participants provided examples of experiences which, taken as a whole, provide evidence for patterns of race relations between individuals that are characterized by sets of assumptions or preferences for interactions between races. The following comments illustrate this theme:

> Where I work people are not of my complexion, and me being in a management position I am able to see through body language how people really feel about me having power. They tried to set me up to fail, so I had to make sure that I covered myself. [African-American male 4-8-2008]

I have experienced some problems…I was the first African-American [at my place of employment] and had to prove I could do my job. I experienced some things that were not discriminatory but were certainly not objective. [African American male 4-12-2008]

The career that I work for, being in management, my complexion is not common. Once we met at this big hotel when our company was being purchased by another company. People came in to negotiate, and you could see it (surprise) on their faces. [African American male 4-8-2008]

I was working one day and I gave a jump to an employee's car, in which I had more authority than [he] did. Well, I got the guy's car started. He left, but then he called back and asked one of the managers if I was the one he had to answer to. When he found out he said that he did not want to work there anymore. [African American male 4-8-2008]

When people of other races see Blacks in positions of power, they are shocked, but I try not to let it bother me. [African American 4-8-2008]

Careers were not the only context mentioned in which racial stereotypes occurred. Young Greensboro residents—particularly students—were also the target of offensive assumptions:

If you are an African American and are outspoken then you are labeled as a trouble-maker. It is worse for women. My daughter is labeled the next jail candidate while a white person who speaks out is labeled the next President. [African American female 5-18-2008]

I don't have kids but am associated with an independent school in GSO. It is always brought to my attention that comments are often made [that] Black kids must be there on scholarship. There practically are no Latinos – no assumption for others of color. [African American female 4-8-2008]

"So you must go to A&T." That comes from white customers. Their whole demeanor changes when I say UNCG and I can tell they are trying to cover up. My only work-related discrimination is with customers; not coworkers. [African American male 4-8-2008]

A few Caucasian participants noted their own set of experiences that made them feel uncomfortable because of their skin color:

I have been in [a service situation] where I felt a Black woman resented having to wait on me. [Caucasian male 4-5-2008]

I was downtown and surrounded by a sea of Black people. I asked what was going on and the person immediately created a barrier and said (with attitude), "We're having a party." [Caucasian female 4-5-2008]

Gender and stereotypes/expectations (and sexual orientation)
Women also experience attitudes of superiority. Often, people's comments conveyed a set of expectations and assumptions for women and women's roles within society that were offensive to those who hear them and, often, create a sense of powerlessness on the part of women. Taken as a whole, the comments suggest a very traditional view of women in Greensboro: women as wives, mothers, and homemakers. The following comments illustrate this pattern:

It [gender discrimination] still exists. My husband and I both have PhDs – and people call on the phone and ask "Dr.__" and I ask "Which one?" and they say, "the male, of course." [female 5-16-2008]

I am asked, "Oh. Your husband lets you travel." I respond with, "I never asked him." It's 2008 and women have full careers. [African American female 4-8-2008]

I was at a volunteer session – fundraising for my child's school – and someone remarked, "We could make a lot of money if everyone's husband took cakes in to sell at their office." I wondered if I was in the right decade. I feel discriminated against every day for being a working mother. I have to juggle being a mother and a worker but my husband doesn't face the same issue. [Caucasian female 4-8-2008]

When contractors would come to do work, I fielded comments like, "When will your husband be here?" They shouldn't assume a woman can't make the decision. [African American female 4-8-2008]

As a single parent, I feel invisible. The public is more apt to respond to a man's request or presence. For example, my teenage son had an item taken away from him in high school. I went to retrieve the item and people hemmed and hawed for 40 minutes. My father went a few days later and was given the item immediately. Greensboro is very traditional: women are caregivers, homemakers, and are dismissed if they don't fall into that model. [African American female 4-5-2008]

Disabilities and stereotypes/expectations
Relationships with individuals with disabilities are also constrained by a set of expectations and assumptions. In many cases, attitudes indicated a disdain for or condescension towards people with disabilities who try to engage with the larger Greensboro community. The following comments illustrate this trend:

I've witnessed that on campus. We have a couple on campus with motorized wheelchairs. I was president of hall council and organized a program that was a party (music, dancing). A girl in wheelchair came, got out of wheelchair and was dancing on her hands. There was "an avoidance - no one laughed." I felt it was a form of discrimination [African American male 4-8-2008]

They assume because you are handicapped you are stupid [African-American female 5-18-2008]

People are always asking inappropriate questions to people with disabilities. I hate when people stare or act like the disabled are stupid…We do everything the same, just slower. Some stare but don't ask questions. When I was at Forsyth Tech a child asked why there were disabled people there. [male 6-16-08]

I think people are scared by the physical differences. [female 6-16-08]

Some people try to be too protective and treat me like a baby. [female 6-16-08]

Immigrant status and misunderstandings
Stereotypes and misunderstandings surrounding Latinos in the community abound, and often it was language or cultural barriers which were cited as getting in the way. Comments provided by

participants suggest an inability to understand immigrants, either through the use of words (language) or through differences in household structures, religions, belief systems or values that lead to internalized prejudices passed from generation to generation:

> The issue most affecting the community is the stereotype and the stigma [in the Latino community]—everyone's the same. Maybe you don't have it one day, but within the week, there will be something and I'm reminded again that I have to face these challenges. I'm raising my children to be bi-lingual because I respect our culture. But the push is to speak English. I'm from Venezuela. I'm an educator so I know it's important to work on self-esteem. In my grocery store, they sweep my card. It's hard for them to understand my last name. They don't say anything. The man behind me is acknowledged by his last name. My daughter asks on the way out, why didn't she say anything to you? I tell her it might be hard for her (the cashier) to say my last name. My daughter says, she could try, couldn't she? [Latina female 4-5-2008]

> We were hosting an event but not one single child of that [Latino/a] culture came. There's apathy in my community—that's the biggest struggle. I would love if I could get someone to translate that for the Hispanic community. Only once have I gotten one of my Hispanic neighbors to come. I finally have given up with meetings this year because no one comes. I think there are people who want to communicate, but the culture of America is that when you come to this country, you have to try to learn English and the opportunities are there. It's creating a different culture if all the females are not being exposed to the English language. [Caucasian female 4-5-2008]

> A lot has to do with barriers in communication…They don't attempt to communicate with us, even though we try to communicate with them. Hispanics that came [to my neighborhood] did not stay long and the damage done to the property was fairly severe. [Caucasian female 4-5-2008]

Participants felt many of the stereotypes held for immigrant groups are being perpetuated across generations:

> It's generational prejudice—grandparents and great grandparents. You hear what people say…It's internalized from generations past. [African-American female 4-5-2008]

Sexual orientation and unease
Although many participants felt a person's sexual orientation is not visible, and, thus, not such a public target of prejudice, comments of others suggested that differences in sexual orientation also lead to the expression of fear and unease in the Greensboro community. In these cases, a consistent pattern was the feeling that gay, lesbian, bisexual or transgender (GLBT) individuals had to be careful wherever they would go, as such differences were not accepted city-wide:

> I have a grown son who is gay. When he lived in Greensboro, he was very careful to hang around only people who were gay. They'd go out together in groups. He was at UNCG at the time. There was some concern, if not fear, that we probably can't go here because we aren't sure who we would encounter. He didn't experience a lot of discrimination because he was careful where he went. He wouldn't go to a redneck bar, a biker bar, for instance. It was pre-emptive on his part. [Caucasian female 4-3-2008]

> Greensboro's position on sexual orientation is "keep it on Tate St; don't come on Elm." [African American male 4-12-2008]

> When I first moved to Greensboro a few years ago I moved into an apartment with two roommates. Before meeting them I went out of town for the weekend, and when I got back to the apartment, both roommates had moved out. I assume that my roommates realized I was gay and decided they did not want to room with me.

Some gay, lesbian, bisexual or transgender individuals are themselves fearful, and careful of their behavior and movements in public. The following comments illustrate this trend:

> I do not feel comfortable living very far from downtown. Beyond a certain point from downtown it gets less tolerant and more conservative. I look for markers to tell if the neighborhood is friendly such as bumper stickers.

> I have a fear and a hesitance about exhibiting affection toward my partner in public in Greensboro.

> I think I would get beat up if I exhibited affection in public.

> I am hesitant (to be with my partner in public), but I am a private person anyway when it comes to affection, and am not sure I would express affection publicly even if I did not think that people would be uncomfortable with it.

2. Lack of courtesy and respect

Among the four primary forms of prejudicial behavior, interactions between individuals in the city of Greensboro that lacked courtesy and respect were the most prominent and include a variety of behaviors, ranging from explicit avoidance or shunning to screaming and the use of profanities. The majority of disrespect and avoidance mentioned by participants was based on race, ethnicity, disability, and sexual orientation.

Race, ethnicity and rudeness

The following comments extracted from conversations with Greensboro residents illustrate the frequently documented form of disrespect through direct confrontation or through the conveying of an attitude that someone does not belong because of their skin color or their language.

> I was at a gas station. A Latino [man] wanted some gas and [was] trying to get his credit card to work. The young lady in the store was screaming at him. He was smiling; I doubt he understood what she was saying. I went to the lady and said, "the guy can't understand you, why don't you help him?" The other people in the store were laughing with her. Imagine if it had been an African American instead of a Latino. [Caucasian female 4-3-2008]

> I have two mixed race children and people stare a lot. My child's teacher asked my daughter the origin of her last name, and I was offended. [Caucasian female 4-5-2008]

> I've been in Greenville, Durham, New York, but here, there is a preponderance of individuals who want to remind me "you are black." It is not just a societal ill, it impacts my movement. [African American female 4-5-2008]

Race, ethnicity, and avoidance

Explicit avoidance was another common form of disrespect noted by people interviewed. In such cases, Greensboro residents noted that alienation from a community or from a specific social

setting is, in essence, a form of prejudicial behavior. The following comments highlight that, for Latinos in the Greensboro community, the challenge is to overcome people's hesitance to interact:

> At kindergarten registration there was a teacher who would not address a Hispanic family in the class. I speak Spanish and helped the woman. I think the teacher wouldn't have let time lapse like it did [without interacting] if it was any other family. [Caucasian female 4-5-2008]

> I'm Latina and have been in GSO 11 years and it's still hard. They look at you different. First it was your accent, and people having a hard time understanding you. You don't see commitment on helping each other integrating, to be part of the community. I try to wave at my neighbors. They look at me but don't wave. It's a challenge to keep going every day. What else do you have to do to be accepted? [Latina female 4-5-2008]

> Being an immigrant, people just avoid helping us. It is noticeable and causes an impression on the individual. We feel isolated because people don't want to affiliate themselves with a foreign-born person for whatever reason they may have. [Arab-American]

African-Americans, on the other hand, were able to tell accounts of obvious avoidance that indicates a lack of respect, particularly avoidance of interracial interactions on the part of some Greensboro residents:

> I was working in [a grocery store] with a customer. I was at the register ringing up people, a white lady came to my register, unloaded her stuff, and when she [saw] that I was Black she loaded her stuff back in her cart and went to a white cashier. [African American 4-8-2008]

> At a place I worked, over the phone a women pointed me out, saying that I wasn't from Greensboro, and wasn't a southerner. She said that when I sent out someone to her property make sure you send someone like us. And I said someone like us, I am Black and proud, even though my heritage is also Indian, and Irish. [African American 4-8-2008]

Disabilities and avoidance
Interestingly, it was most often people with disabilities who experienced obvious avoidance as a kind of shunning. People with disabilities were often not spoken to, not sat next to, and, in some cases, indirectly criticized for simply being in a public space. They feel "invisible," and therefore, disrespected. The following comments illustrate this pattern:

> I'm handicapped. I have artificial knees. The ushers at one church in town refused to place anyone beside me in an empty space for three years. [African American male 4-12-2008]

> A customer once complained to my supervisor at work that "they just allow anyone in here." [male 6-16-08]

> Children are curious, and some parents handle the questions well, while others say, "Let's get away from him. He's in a wheelchair." [male 6-16-08]

Sexual orientation and disrespect

Although fewer in frequency, participants shared some comments that suggested a similar avoidance of gay or lesbian individuals in the Greensboro community. These comments suggest isolation imposed on the gay, lesbian or bisexual community due to a general disinterest on the part of the general public to acknowledge such differences. The following comments illustrate this trend:

> One of my colleagues, now deceased, was gay. No one else talked about it though everyone knew. I found it sad that he wasn't able to live openly. It wasn't an encouraging environment. [Caucasian male 4-8-2008]

> A neighbor approached my partner to say how much they disapproved of her lifestyle and then made an announcement at a community watch meeting. [Caucasian female 6-25-2008]

3. Insults and name-calling

Insults and name-calling were recognized as particularly unwelcome by Greensboro residents. Participants recognized these relations as verbal assaults that have the intent or effect of creating an intimidating and hostile living environment. The preponderance of these comments happened because of a person's race or ethno-religious background (overwhelmingly towards immigrant populations), with a few comments focused on sexual orientation.

Race, ethnicity and inhospitality

Many of the insults provided by participants indicated direct discrimination towards Spanish speakers in particular and the Latino community of Greensboro as a whole. Spanish speakers were often told to leave the country, to learn English, and were characterized as unworthy. The following comments illustrate this pattern:

> I see bias in school. Discrimination is acting on the bias, I see bias that is acceptable among young people if they look at a person and assume they are Latino or Mexican. They make derogatory remarks, like "Go back to Mexico!" Very few people call them undocumented immigrants. People assume they are taking jobs. (People see this as a) safe bias in this area. [African American female 4-8-2008]

> I'm really worried about the youth. They're asked, "Why are you here when you won't be able to go to college?" When you see kids on the street, you need to be asking, why? Not because they don't want to, but THAT is bigger and stronger than them. "Oh, you buy your shoes at Goodwill. Go back to your own country. Stop speaking your native Spanish." When an authority from the school is saying that, what do you expect? That child will not finish school; he'll be out in the street. [Latina female 4-5-2008]

> I work as a housing advocate—and back to race and immigration—every time I seem to be treated pretty well when my Latina and African and African American staff are treated bad….I cringe. That happens probably 3-4 times a day, where I'm treated better than other people for no apparent reason other than I'm white and a US citizen, even though I was born in Africa. Yesterday, one of my African American co-workers was cursed out by a client and so he asked to speak to me. I had to tell him he had to apologize to her and he calmed right down. He called her a racial epithet. When I said you can't act like this, he calmed right down. Before that, a client was screaming at an African American co-worker. I went in and everything settled down—that kind of thing happens all the time. [Caucasian female 4-5-2008]

There is a passive-aggressive stance towards immigrants – "they should learn to speak English" or "I won't go to Wal-Mart because that's where the Hispanics go." Lots of our residents don't recognize that we are a resettlement community – we don't recognize that immigrants are not all undocumented – we have a reaction and many of us not recalling that most of us came from somewhere else with some other language. And people who might be in adverse relationships can come together – like Black-white – in our mentality against immigrants – particularly about those that we describe as "Mexicans" – not knowing that they may be Guatemalans or Peruvian. [5-16-2008]

Sexual orientation and insults
A few comments gathered through focus groups and interviews indicate insults directed toward apparently homosexual individuals:

> I have a friend who is African American…gay…dancer…hard to miss. He came from NY to stay with me. He was visible, pruning shrubs in the yard, etc. I received comments that I felt I wouldn't have if it had been any one else staying there. [Caucasian female 4-8-2008]

One interviewee described walking at night and having a car drive by with a group of young men who yelled out a derogatory word about them. Another interviewee described adolescents writing in chalk on the street a derogatory word and drawing an arrow toward his house. He also reported that some adolescents did some damage to his home, because he and his partner are gay. A focus group participant described hearing "snickering" and "laughing" once in a while.

4. Threats and harassment
Verbal threats or physical harassment were less commonly noted in focus groups than other forms of prejudicial behavior. However, many of the threats and harassment incidents offered by participants focused on race-based discrimination and gender roles. For non-Caucasians, these incidents tended to be punitive, or singling them out for punishment. Women, on the other hand, reported sexual harassment from males.

Race, ethnicity and targeted harassment
African-American participants provided a set of examples of targeted harassment that occurred in a variety of contexts, including stores, schools and neighborhoods. The following comments illustrate this pattern:

> I showed my ID at the checkpoint but was then escorted by three large security men who wanted to see my Federal ID. They thought it was fake. [African American male 4-12-2008]

> There is still the underlying polite gestures made every once in a while, but still …my supervisor rents out a house across the street…a Black family moved in and the next week I was called and someone said along the lines of, "It's best some things are left unsaid…" with a click of a gun in the background….a consensus today of people my age would think discrimination doesn't exist…[African American male 4-8-2008]

> If you lived in a certain area then you are boxed into a certain category, and teachers treat you differently and harass you more than other students. [African American 4-8-2008]

Refugees live in pockets because of language. There is abuse—the attitude [is] that they don't deserve to live in better circumstances because they don't speak English. They are not welcome in many places, so they become insular. People think, "they don't trust who I say I am" and so they live in an extreme level of fear. It's the same case with Africans who feel they don't fit in. I work in housing, and I received a call from an African family who was threatened with a gun by white neighbors. [African American female 4-5-2008]

I live in University Village with 3 roommates – 2 are African American, 3rd is white male. …We get tons of noise complaints, one legit, another that wasn't necessary. The walls are so thin so it could be any neighbor, but I feel singled out because we are Black. [African American male 4-8-2008]

One Saudi college-age student recounted incidents where he was verbally harassed and physically threatened. He commented that his harassers treat him "like a terrorist."

Gender and sexual harassment
Prejudicial behavior in the form of harassment by gender was also noted by some participants. Gender harassment was more sexual in nature than punitive, as the following comment suggests:

When you see an 8th or 9th grader walking down the hall and the boy turns around and grabs the girl's rear end, what kind of respect is that? Then he comes in and says "Take care of my stuff"? There's a problem there. [African American male 4-3-2008]

B.   Prejudicial Behavior - Surveys
Below, Tables 9-13 provide survey results about the **prejudicial behavior** aspect of human relations.[1] In the following tables, disability, sexual orientation, immigrant status, education level and income level are each presented in terms of the 11 questions people were asked about prejudicial behavior they experienced on at least a weekly basis. After Tables 9-13, two tables consider race and aforementioned forms of prejudicial behavior while also considering the relative importance of income and education levels. Summary analyses of Tables 9-13 follow.

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[1]   Tables 1-12 are in the appendices.

Table 9. Percent reporting prejudice at least once per week, by disability status

Prejudicial Behavior	Non-disabled (%)	Disabled (%)
Lack of courtesy	14	24
Lack of respect	12	24
Gave me poorer service	6	16
Treated me as not smart	9	24
Acted afraid of me	5	17
Saw me as dishonest	4	13
Acted better than me	18	27
Called me names	3	13
Insulted me	3	17
Threatened me	3	11
Assaulted me	.8	2

NOTE: percentages not weighted to be representative of general population in terms of gender, age, immigrant status, sexual orientation, race, education or income level

Table 10. Percent reporting prejudice at least once per week, by sexual orientation

Prejudicial Behavior	Heterosexual	Bisexual	Gay/Lesbian	Transgender/Oth
Lack of courtesy	15	22	12	44
Lack of respect	14	14	15	25
Gave me poorer service	7	6	10	11
Treated me as not smart	11	8	10	11
Acted afraid of me	7	3	12	33
Saw me as dishonest	6	3	5	22
Acted better than me	19	14	17	33
Called me names	5	6	8	11
Insulted me	5	6	10	0
Threatened me	4	6	3	0
Assaulted me	1	0	0	0

NOTE: percentages not weighted to be representative of general population in terms of gender, age, immigrant status, sexual orientation, race, education or income level

Table 11. Percent reporting prejudice at least once per week, by immigrant status and language spoken in the home

Prejudicial Behavior	Born in USA	Speak English in home	Born outside USA	Speak other language in home
Lack of courtesy	16	14	15	8
Lack of respect	14	13	10	8
Gave me poorer service	7	7	7	8
Treated me as not smart	12	11	11	11
Acted afraid of me	7	8	3	0
Saw me as dishonest	5	5	8	11
Acted better than me	20	19	11	11
Called me names	5	5	8	8
Insulted me	5	5	4	3
Threatened me	4	4	0	0
Assaulted me	1	1	0	0

NOTE: percentages not weighted to be representative of general population in terms of gender, age, immigrant status, sexual orientation, race, education or income level

Table 12. Percent reporting prejudice at least once per week, by education level

Prejudicial Behavior	High school or less	At least some college
Lack of courtesy	21	13
Lack of respect	21	11
Gave me poorer service	12	5
Treated me as not smart	21	8
Acted afraid of me	12	6
Saw me as dishonest	11	4
Acted better than me	26	16
Called me names	10	3
Insulted me	10	3
Threatened me	8	3
Assaulted me	2.4	.5

NOTE: percentages not weighted to be representative of general population in terms of gender, age, immigrant status, sexual orientation, race, education or income level

Table 13. Percent reporting prejudice at least once per week, by income level

Prejudicial Behavior	Under 20k/yr	$20-40k/yr	Over $40k/yr
Lack of courtesy	24	15	11
Lack of respect	24	15	9
Gave me poorer service	12	8	5
Treated me as not smart	23	12	7
Acted afraid of me	14	7	5
Saw me as dishonest	11	5	3
Acted better than me	28	20	14
Called me names	12	4	3
Insulted me	12	5	2
Threatened me	10	3	2
Assaulted me	4	0	.4

NOTE: percentages not weighted to be representative of general population in terms of gender, age, immigrant status, sexual orientation, race, education or income level

Tables 9-13 indicate several patterns in prejudicial behavior. First, respondents with disabilities and those of lower income and education levels report two to three times the level of prejudicial behavior compared to their counterpart populations. Homosexual and bisexual individuals report similar levels of bias as do heterosexuals (although a much higher percentage of transsexual individuals report frequent prejudice, e.g., courtesy, respect, fear, distrust, superiority). *Disrespect/lack of courtesy and attitudes of superiority (smarter, better) are the forms of prejudicial behavior that are most common, and are reported by as much as one fourth of specific groups on at least a weekly basis.*

Table 14 shows that, with some exceptions among Asians and Latinos/Hispanics, people with less education report prejudicial behavior more frequently that those with higher educational levels. The highest prejudicial behavior is reported by people who listed race as Other—many of them are multiracial and thus might receive prejudice from various groups. People who don't speak English at home, or were born outside the U.S., report similar or lower rates of prejudicial behavior than do US-born individuals and people speaking primarily English in the home.

Table 14. Percent reporting prejudice at least once per week, by racial/ethnic category and education level

Prejudicial Behavior	Asian	Black	Latino	Native Am	White	Other
Lack of Courtesy						
high school or less	0	29	0	67	15	50
at least some college	7	20	18	13	10	42
Lack of respect						
high school or less	0	26	7	50	16	60
at least some college	7	13	12	17	10	30
Gave me poorer service						
high school or less	0	15	0	33	9	33
at least some college	7	8	0	0	4	17
Treated me as not smart						
high school or less	0	29	7	33	15	50
at least some college	7	16	12	0	5	33
Acted afraid of me						
high school or less	0	15	0	17	10	50
at least some college	0	13	0	13	4	25
Saw me as dishonest						
high school or less	0	18	29	17	3	17
at least some college	0	8	0	13	2	17
Acted better than me						
high school or less	0	40	8	50	16	67
at least some college	0	25	24	25	14	27
Called me names						
high school or less	0	16	7	33	5	17
at least some college	20	3	6	0	2	17
Insulted me						
high school or less	0	12	0	33	9	33
at least some college	7	5	6	0	3	17
Threatened me						
high school or less	0	12	0	33	4	17
at least some college	7	3	0	13	3	0
Assaulted me						
high school or less	0	4	0	0	1	0
at least some college	0	1	0	13	0	0

NOTE: percentages not weighted to be representative of general population in terms of gender, age, immigrant status, sexual orientation, race, education or income level

Next, Table 15 covers the relative importance of income level in affecting the relationship between race and prejudicial behavior. Similar to Table 14, lower-income individuals experience more prejudice.

Table 15. Percent reporting prejudice at least once per week, by racial/ethnic category and income level

Lack of courtesy	Asian	Black	Latino	Native Am	White	Other
<20k/yr	0	30	15	60	19	33
20-40k/yr	50	20	0	0	10	100
40+k/yr	0	18	13	25	9	25
Lack of respect						
<20k/yr	0	27	15	40	22	50
20-40k/yr	50	18			12	100
40+k/yr	0	12	13	33	8	14
Gave me poorer service						
<20k/yr	0	15	0	20	10	33
20-40k/yr	0	11	0	0	5	75
40+k/yr	8	7	0	0	4	0
Treated me as not smart						
<20k/yr	0	33	8	20	15	67
20-40k/yr	50	13	0	0	10	75
40+k/yr	0	13	25	0	5	13
Acted afraid of me						
<20k/yr	0	16	0	0	11	67
20-40k/yr	0	9	0	0	5	75
40+k/yr	0	13	0	25	3	13
Saw me as dishonest						
<20k/yr	0	18	23	20	4	33
20-40k/yr	0	9	13	0	2	50
40+k/yr	0	7	0	25	2	0
Acted better than me						
<20k/yr	0	37	17	60	20	67
20-40k/yr	0	28	13	0	15	100
40+k/yr	0	22	25	25	13	13
Called me names						
<20k/yr	0	16	15	20	9	0
20-40k/yr	50	7	0	0	1	50
40+k/yr	17	2	0	0	2	13
Insulted me						
<20k/yr	0	12	8	20	13	33
20-40k/yr	50	8	0	0	2	50
40+k/yr	0	2	0	0	2	13
Threatened me						
<20k/yr	0	13	0	20	9	0
20-40k/yr	50	4	0		1	25
40+k/yr	0	1	0	25	2	0
Assaulted me						
<20k/yr	0	6	0	0	3	0
20-40k/yr	0	0	0	0	1	0
40+k/yr	0	0	0	25	0	0

NOTE: percentages not weighted to be representative of general population in terms of gender, age, immigrant

status, sexual orientation, race, education or income level

C. Major Life Events Discrimination – Focus Groups and In-Depth Interviews

Distinct from prejudicial behaviors are cases of **major life events discrimination**. In these cases, there appeared to have been some systematic denial of rights due to an individual's race/ethnicity, immigrant status, gender, sexual orientation, or disability. Focus group participants and interviewed individuals reported on personal stories of discrimination—involving themselves or their close family members—as well as secondary stories of discrimination (against others). For the most part, people's stories of racial/ethnic discrimination were usually told as first-hand accounts. While this is particularly true for males, females also tended to more often contextualize their comments within the experience of others.

Greensboro residents discussed and reported on major life events discrimination in four areas: employment, housing, education, and law enforcement. *Race/ethnicity and immigrant status were by far the most common focus of discrimination across all areas of major life events discrimination. People with disabilities reported frequent and systematic discrimination in areas of employment and service, and women reported difficulty receiving raises or promotions.* Sexual orientation was not commonly mentioned by focus group participants as a reason for a denial of rights. What follows is a summary of the major patterns and trends within each of the major areas of life events discrimination.

1. Employment

For the most part, people's stories included cases where promotions or raises were denied, or where employment opportunities were closed to them based on socio-demographic characteristics. Researchers heard very little regarding differences in pay structures or the lack of family-friendly policies.

Denial of promotions or raises

For the most part, denials of promotions or raises tended to be based on gender. Women often felt passed over for promotions or raises, though on some occasions, they were directly told that their gender was a liability:

> Sexism is especially prevalent in employment. People overlook your expertise and promote others rather than you. {African American female 5-18-2008]

> I've had experience with it [gender discrimination] my whole professional life—in getting a position, a professional position. In the church, if I did get a position I wasn't listened to. It wasn't so much in the human services industry. You can hear it in the political discussions and in the media. [Caucasian female 4-2-2008]

Race was also a consideration for promotions or raises, with some commenting that "Blacks can get jobs, but they are at lower level positions instead of top management." However, even those whose comments suggested that denials of raises or promotions may have been partially based on ethnic considerations also often noted a gender factor. The following comments illustrate this:

> We know what's going on, we're not fooled, it's a matter of right or wrong… Just last night I was working on a job and they…told me to my face, "there [is] no way I'm giving the money I could

give to a white man to you,"…we have seen [this] day in and day out…I don't know where we'd be if it weren't for MLK. [African American male 4-12-2008]

Closed employment opportunities
Most of the comments provided by participants across the Greensboro area indicated that there are still many cases in which job opportunities are closed or limited due to a person's race, ethnicity, gender or disability. Analysis of the experiences of specific populations in the area of employment show that people experienced or perceived employment discrimination due to race, disabilities, gender, prior criminal records, and sexual orientation. Again, race and ethnicity were among participants' most common experiences with discrimination. African Americans and Latinos shared the bulk of the stories:

> One of our members went to an interview, filling out an application. The manager interrupted him and asked, "Do you have papers? I need your SS #." He got scared and left. That's discrimination. You cannot interrupt his process with these questions. [Latina Female 4-5-2008]

> I've had an experience here in Greensboro and it was strictly racism from senior management. I was the only senior management who was African-American and I was let go. It left a bad taste in my mouth for the company and the people in that company. I know deep within me it was racism and prejudice. I was the first senior manager and then booted. When someone says you don't know how to do something after 20 years of experience, when they put you up against another manager who then replaces you when you leave, it's racism. [African-American male 4-03-08]

Few participants were able to account first-hand on the status of disability discrimination in employment. However, focus group participants acknowledged that people with disabilities are rarely seen functioning in many jobs, even if they have skills:

> Some have temporary disabilities… some people are discriminated against based on perceived health during the hiring process. Employers perceive insurance burden. It's a huge thing, but not unique to Greensboro. Mental disabilities and discomfort, or not understanding that someone is different. [Caucasian female 4-8-2008]

> I know of a man who is deaf and working—lucky person to be working. I see discrimination in the number of disabled people with skills but aren't working (can't get a job). People are so uncomfortable around him and they don't speak. He lip reads and has a device and feels that able-bodied people are uncomfortable around someone with a major disability so they avoid them. [African-American female 4-8-2008]

> I don't see people with disabilities much. You don't see them behind the cosmetic counters. You don't see it. You know there are people with disabilities, and by law you can't discriminate, but something has to be happening. [Caucasian female 4-3-2008]

Closed employment opportunities on the basis of gender, just as in the cases of denial for promotions or raises already discussed, was sometimes compounded by an individual's race:

> I interviewed for a Guilford County Schools position. I was told I did a great job but that I was not male. [African-American female 5-18-2008]

It was a hard hire for powers that be to consider a very qualified Black female--she was the assistant superintendent and was not even considered. [She] asked if it was because she was female or Black. [The woman] responded, "Both." I asked NCEA how they couldn't even include her in their list to interview. [Caucasian female 4-9-2008]

Several gay or lesbian participants indicated that they simply do not disclose their sexual orientation. One teacher said that he "sometimes feared that a student might find out I was gay and out me." Although many participants said they could not comment personally on sexual orientation discrimination, the following is representative of the secondary comments participants offered in the realm of employment:

A friend who is transgendered has difficulty getting jobs after [her] employer learns of the name change. [African-American female 5-18-2008]

Can we imagine an openly gay [school] superintendent? It would be a very hard hire, suggesting discrimination. [Caucasian female 4-9-2008]

While not considered one of the traditional protected statuses concerning discrimination, a few participants mentioned the difficulty of finding a job with a prior conviction record:

If you go to get a job it says if you have had a felony in the last 5 years, but with the computers and social security #s they can find out if you were convicted in '86…I went to get a job in Hospice, and because of my felonies in '86, I don't get my jobs. That's another type of discrimination. It isn't Black or white, I have more Black folks discriminating against me than white, White folks say come on and give a talk while Black folks say you a fool…It don't matter if you try to redeem yourself [African American male]

Immigrants with limited English proficiency expressed some level of harassment or unfair treatment on the job. Their case is unique because, without the ability to access proper assistance in dealing with extreme cases of discrimination, these individuals are particularly vulnerable to corrupt business owners and supervisors. For example, an Ethiopian man in this research spoke more about his issues with discrimination at his job. Upon moving to Greensboro he had limited English proficiency so was directed to a job in a local distribution plant. In his own words, "the work was hard and the boss was constantly yelling at me to go faster." He also offered the following comment:

There were times when my fellow employees would be taking breaks to cool down, but I was not allowed a break, and if seen not moving I would be reprimanded and told to get back to work. I never thought about complaining—I was fearful that I would lose my job and not be able to feed my wife and child. [Ethiopian male]

Similar cases of unfair treatment on a job were recounted by Latino participants. One woman offered the following comment:

There was an instance in which a family member of mine was refused their due pay. They contested and demanded the employer pay them the money they earned. After multiple failed attempts to get their pay, they tried talking to the head of the company. After trying to reach this individual for a couple of weeks a meeting was arranged and the head essentially took the side of

the boss. Not even a week later my family member was fired and never received their pay. [Latina female]

2. Housing

Systematic discrimination in the area of housing was categorized by two specific forms of discrimination: closed housing opportunities and differences in neighborhood resources.

Closed housing opportunities

Closed housing opportunities were discussed most often by immigrants and African Americans. Many of the stories relayed a common theme of immigrants—Spanish-speaking in particular, who experienced closed housing opportunities, some involving deception, others involving harassment. The following comments illustrate this theme:

> In terms of immigration…. people call our office with housing problems and share stories. These stories are just outrageous. One Latino family had their 11 year son dealing with the contract. The contract said, you pay me $10,000 now and $1,000 a year for 30 years. It was to be a lease to own. The house was ½ built. The owner was to finish the house and he got a little behind the payment. He was thrown out. They said, we didn't record it as a lease to own, just as a lease and he was evicted. [Caucasian female 4-5-2008]

> There are a lot of different kinds of immigrants--Iraq, everywhere. A preponderance of Hispanics have been subject to backlash in the last 6-7 years connected to September 11th. There was an immigration raid at TIMCo. It creates a dynamic of what's left of families--"you're not welcome here". The children couldn't raise themselves and the women are not eligible for welfare. Those without documentation receive the worst abuse (housing, jobs). I've heard many stories involving housing. [African-American female 4-5-2008]

> You hear it all the time, why are they moving in--not more Mexicans…I have Mexican friends who are harassed; it's a growing problem. I know Blacks moved into Irving Park and they had to go through a time to move into the area [African American male]

> We see really, really dangerous housing conditions that make people sick, that poison them, to make them permanently disabled. Immigrants and minorities live there much more than whites. We're doing a study right now. The ones who are really blatant about it say, "You're Mexican, what else do you expect." Or, "It's better than the jungle you used to live in." Some landlords ignore requests by immigrants and minorities. Then someone white will call, and the repairs are made. There's nothing fair about it. And some of the landlords really exploit immigration issues. They will threaten deportation if anyone complains so the conditions get worse and worse and worse because they're afraid. And even if another landlord is not like that, there have been other cases, so people are afraid to complain. Then their kids get sick, like with asthma. One Latino child died because they were afraid to go to the hospital. They thought they would be deported. The fear is getting in the way! [Caucasian female 4-5-2008]

The African-American community also reported direct experiences with discrimination in the housing industry. In many of these cases, individuals were "steered" to particular neighborhoods because of their race.

> I've had some (housing discrimination), but I prefer not to comment. [African-American male 4-2-2008]

> They're devaluing the property in the Black areas, the unwritten red line. The banks are involved. Once you're banned from one house you're banned from other housing in the city. [African American male 5-18-2008]

> I was asked if I was Black or white and was steered. I called the News & Record about this incident that occurred 15 years ago. [African-American female 5-18-2008]

> An experience when I moved here 12 yrs ago…the realtor kept showing houses in one part of city. I conducted an internet search for homes…the realtor was surprised when I asked to go to the different areas of Greensboro. [African-American female 4-8-2008]

> [Two years ago] I was told I didn't qualify [for the apartment] but I knew I did. I was unsure if it was because of color or medical condition. It was overt discrimination. I received no help from the Human Relations department. [African-American male 4-12-2008]

Across the interviews and focus groups, there were differing views about the state of housing discrimination by sexual orientation in Greensboro. Approximately half of the interviewees mentioned difficulties related to housing, and the other half expressed that they did not know of any problems related to housing for GLBT people.

> It is really important that gay and lesbians choose gay friendly realtors when looking for a house. I would also say that we have to pay particular attention to the Greensboro neighborhoods we move to in order to make sure they were welcoming and tolerant.

Difference in neighborhood resources
Greensboro residents noted that the distribution of resources across neighborhoods is not always equal, resulting in a form of housing discrimination. The following comments illustrate this pattern:

> There was a developer who was building… and all of these homes were being built in our one area of town. But after doing research I found that homes are supposed to be dispersed all over town, but because land was cheaper in our area they decided to cram all the houses on one side of town. We fought this thing to the end and had their plans changed. [African American 4-8-2008,]

> They are devaluing property values in Black neighborhoods, the banks and financing services…the percentage of Blacks with contracts is low. [If you are] a convicted felon you get banned from housing, and that's a unique situation [African American male]

Immigrants provided illustrations of their living situations, and a corresponding lack of response or concern from landlords:

When something would break in my apartment it would seemingly take longer for maintenance crews to assist me than it would for others living in the complex. Our landlord doesn't take care of the house and constantly charges us different amounts for rent and utilities. I feel our landlord is dishonest with regard to payments. If and when he would explain the reason for the charges to me, he does so very quickly and without visual representation, such as a water bill or receipt. [Female]

In our zip code, there are no doctors in the neighborhood, no clinics, and resources not walkable for those who are aging. [As for] housing access, landlord can put you out for your sexual orientation. Warnersville neighborhood has the highest level of young population and has the smallest recreation center and it is in ill repair. [African female 5-16-2008]

We have an overwhelming infestation of cockroaches that eat any food they can access. There is also a leak in the roof, which allows water into the kitchen when it rains and has created a situation where mold and mildew cover the walls and ceiling and likely inhabit the inner walls. The combination of mold and cockroaches poses a dangerous situation for us living in the house and a much more dangerous situation for my three children. We brought up this issue of the roaches and leak to the landlord only once for fear that we would be kicked out. When it was brought up the landlord shrugged it off and never did anything about it. [female]

Poor service at businesses and other community institutions

In some cases, sectors of the Greensboro community felt they received low quality service from a variety of institutions, including restaurants, churches and hospitals. What follows are some examples of barriers to fair treatment based on disability, sexual orientation, immigration status and religion. People with disabilities were particularly forthcoming about their experiences with discrimination in the service industry:

I wasn't allowed to return to [a store] unless I had a permission slip…the manager said that was policy. He called [my residential facility] to have me removed from the store. [female 6-16-08]

On a trip to [a store] me and my friend were asked why we were there by ourselves [without a chaperone]. [male 6-16-08]

There aren't enough handicap stalls in public restrooms. [male 6-16-08]

Some city drivers complain when I get on the bus because they have to get up and take time to tie me down. They complain about the delays it causes. [female 6-16-08]

Restrooms and restaurants are not equipped for disabled people. [African American female 4-12-2008]

We have restaurants not equipped for disabled people…curbing not capable of being scaled by disabled. We have handicapped spots as far away from store as possible [African American female]

Other protected status groups shared sets of barriers they encounter when attempting to take advantage of public services. Although there were no overwhelming patterns in the *types* of service industries that are particularly problematic, it did become clear that all in Greensboro are not equally welcomed to participate in public or civic opportunities:

We had an experience in our church, an Episcopal church. We wanted to bring someone from California who had a (same-sex) partner. The policy at that time was you could be gay but not openly, so we couldn't get the priest we wanted. All the gay people in our church left, which was too bad. [Caucasian female 4-5-2008]

Restaurants treat lesbians differently. We were put in the corner, and after a very long wait were given a gay server. [Caucasian female 6-25-2008]

There are some places that don't say "You can't come" but you may have to be on the right social track to get an invitation. [African American female 6-25-2008]

There are lots of public programs available, but a lot of times you have to ask for a supervisor and ask, because they are not going to outright offer services to you. [African American 5-18-2008]

I am not Christian and am shocked by the amount of religion and feel excluded from activities directed towards Christians. I feel people are assuming everyone is Christian. [Caucasian female 4-8-2008]

If a woman is not married she doesn't have a voice as a constituent. There are lots of programs for children designed for before 5 p.m., which restricts working, single parents from participating. The city doesn't take into account the needs of all citizens. [African American female 4-5-2008]

I'm of the opinion that any public venue where you spend your money you should feel you are welcome; but that is not the case. If you go into a [store] you expect customer service, to be treated friendly. My experience and observation—it doesn't happen. [African American female 4-5-2008]

3. Education

Participant comments in some focus groups suggest that the patterns of discrimination in education depend on race/ethnicity, income, and perceived intellectual capacity. Overall, the Latino/immigrant community reported many more incidences where they were discouraged from continuing education, whereas the African-American community reported more general differences in treatment or opportunities within the school system. In several cases disabilities were mentioned as severe limiting factors for pursuing an education in Greensboro; gender and sexual orientation discrimination were not mentioned within the context of education.

Discouragement to continue education

Discouragement in education tended to focus on Latino children and on people with disabilities. In each of these cases, the children are often seen as disadvantaged due to language abilities and cultural differences. In other words, assumptions that these populations are not 'good enough' resulted in diminished encouragement to learn:

When Latino 4 year olds are being tested for kindergarten, sometimes they're being labeled with a disability because they can't speak the language. I'm not sure that's a disability at all. They're saying that they have educational problems and delay and I don't think it's that at all. That's what I'm facing with a few cases we have. [Latina female 4-5-2008]

When you're working with 11, 12, 13 year olds, you hear things. They ask why we are here if we can't go to college because of our parents. You're killing their spirit. I'm worried about what you

see on the front page about Latino gangs. If we don't address those issues now, we're going to have issues later that will create more problems. Talking about it is something we HAVE to do. It's not like the students will learn English tomorrow in school. You have to have expectations. You have to have eye contact with parents in school meetings. A lot of teachers don't have the time to walk the extra mile. In our country, we have teachers working hard with students. I don't see that here. When the teachers don't show up to the Latino festival, that tells me a lot. [Latina female 4-5-2008]

On education…our (Latino/a) kids are being pushed to careers, not college. [Latina female 4-5-2008]

In the case of people with disabilities, it was clear that the disadvantage began on the day they were born or on the day they acquired their disability. Doctors played a role in discouraging education for some of these individuals, and it was only at the hand of strong pushes from parents that education success was observed:

I am on disability, and was advised to not seek higher education based on standardized tests. When recovering from surgery I was released from the hospital too early. [African-American female 5-18-2008]

My parents were told I would be a vegetable when I was born. I was put in Murdock; the school system did not want to give me tests for graduation but my parents pushed for them and I passed. [male 6-16-08]

Difference in learning opportunities
Ethnicity and race, as well as disability, seemed also to be particularly salient in explaining differences in learning opportunities available to young residents of Greensboro. Tolerance of disciplinary problems was seen as unequal among different racial groups, resulting in high suspension rates for African-Americans. The special needs of Latinos and people with disabilities are overlooked. The following comments illustrate this trend:

Black students at Dudley and A&T are being arrested and obtaining criminal records instead of receiving warnings or slap on the wrists that their white peers receive. [African American 3-18-2008]

The whole notion of who gets suspended is a perfect example. The white kid is less likely to be a troublemaker. [African American female 4-5-2008]

Zero tolerance is applied differently to Black student than white students…if it's white kids it's like, "oh they got problems they need to see a counselor," but when it's a Black kid, they get kicked out…the treatment of disciplinary action, now expulsion is the answer to most problems. Half of the cases of students being put out of school are for no reason. Everyone can get into public school. But the rate of Black students being kicked out is disproportional [African American male]

[We should] talk about the SROs [school resource officers] in schools and the disproportionate number of students of color who are suspended in and out of school. If there was different treatment of those students would it be the same statistics? [In] NW Middle school, the principal

reduced the statistics – it's a fact it was happening. [What is the] relation of SROs within school?…how [should they] enforce policy? [Caucasian female 4-8-2008]

My cousins and I went to Page, and we notified the office that there were students who were causing trouble, but they didn't want to listen to us. But when something happens, they blame it on us. [African American ? 5-18-2008]

In Greensboro, people are separating "smart" Black students and sending them to prestigious school and forgetting about the rest. [4-8-2008]

In addition, some participants made the point that economic class differences may be an important factor that limits educational resources to particular populations.

In the schools there is a discrimination against poor people, schools are deteriorating and no one seems to care. [4-8-2008]

In the schools people with disabilities are ignored and overlooked. [4-8-2008]

For the Latino community, a perception of ignorance as well as the language barrier—and the lack of resources provided to overcome the language barrier within the school system—was particularly important:

I've heard that ESL teachers were pulled away from students who needed it and sent to tutor math for natives. [Caucasian female 4-8-2008]

In school also they don't have the same expectations. They assume you don't know how to navigate the system. The stereotype I face every day that's challenging is the "illegal alien." [Latina female 4-5-2008]

The vast majority of participants reported that they did not know of any limitations to educational opportunities due to sexual orientation. However, the role that parents play in supporting or not supporting a child's education can be limiting. One set of openly lesbian parents were not allowed to participate fully in their child's education:

We were told that only biological parents could serve on a PTA board. But our life is not different from any other. We pay our bills, do our chores, take care of our children just the same. [6-25-2008]

On the other hand, one college-age student reported difficulties due to lack of parental support—directly related to his sexuality:

I was unable to get financial aid because I was not 24-years-old and my parents were not financially supportive of me because of my sexual orientation. The situation made it really difficult for me to continue college, so I got a marriage certificate with a lesbian friend of mine in order to get financial aid.

4. Law Enforcement

For the most part, people's stories concerning interactions with the justice system in Greensboro included cases of unfair treatment, police harassment or poor service by the police, rather than unfair treatment by the courts, probation officers or jails. Their stories were both detailed and elaborate, often recounting first-hand experiences with law enforcement officials. Race and ethnic discrimination were overwhelmingly the most common forms of discrimination mentioned relating to the justice system in Greensboro. *In fact, almost all of the unfair treatment, police harassment, or poor police service stories were offered by African-Americans, recounting discrimination against African-Americans.* There was discussion across several focus groups that other ethnic groups or immigrant groups in Greensboro may not complain about unfair treatment by law enforcement because of a general distrust or general lack of knowledge of the functioning of the system as a whole: "Immigrants don't complain because they don't trust law enforcement. And they may be fearful of deportation."

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Unfair treatment

Participants told stories of unfair treatment by the police that were often long, full of detail, and ended with the storyteller noting how the entire ordeal leaves them feeling 'unsafe' in Greensboro. The following comments indicate this pattern:

> I've been stopped, but I'm a defense lawyer. Anecdotally, from clients' stories or reports, you know how a stop came about. The courts have allowed cops a lot of latitude. Young Black males are overwhelmingly engaged with police. "I just want to talk to you…" I ask, "Why did they even engage him in the first place?" It's racial profiling. You and I don't need to have a conversation. Four Seasons instituted a policy of no groups over 4-5…they targeted Blacks. An officer would engage them, it escalated to 3 officers...then, asking for an ID. That's a racial issue. On a regular basis courts are overflowing with petty offenses. Cops are blue, not black or white. Greensboro is known notoriously throughout the state that they will get physical with you. I may be biased, but they escalate…my "Yo," or "What," is taken as an act of aggression. A young person will jerk away [and that's considered] assault on law officer for jerking away. [African-American male 4-12-2008]

> With the way the police manifests itself, if two or three brown are assembled,… they are not welcomed. When you step outside of campus, walking is viewed as odd. Five [people] walking, or across a yard, now people call police. I tell my son to ride his bike but he won't for fear of being stopped. He prefers to ride to Summit Avenue rather than Battleground Avenue….Police presence is only when one *perceives* vandalism, etc. The police never ride through my neighborhood. [African-American female 4-5-2008]

> Greensboro has ordinances – you need a permit to have "pickup" soccer or football game on park or school property…officers will stop a game and ask if they have a permit. It doesn't foster full use of democratic spaces. I don't think we have a good relationship and I don't agree with the way they are carried out. [African-American female 4-5-2008]

> My son has been in trouble with the police. He's a teenage boy. The 1st incident – he & friend were at Target on Lawndale and it supposedly started because he was seen kicking over a garbage can – the Police Department was called. They wanted to charge him for vandalism, and he had a hunting knife. He was brought home in police car, handcuffed. The police officer said he was going to be charged with vandalism, weapon possession, purposeful destruction of property, and larceny (bulb in pocket believed to have been stolen from Petsmart). He had kicked a rock across

the parking lot and hit a car (which made a ding on running board according to police). I spoke with the vehicle's owner who didn't care about the ding. The police investigator called the car owner repeatedly to get her to press charges. I felt police were trying to create a situation. I visited people in my legal department at work. [My son} was taken out of Petsmart - unknown what he was taken out and searched for, but no one pressed charges because he hadn't stolen anything. That was the 1ˢᵗ experience, which was terrifying, humiliating. I'm not drinking or doing drugs, but I felt the officer was trying to scare me. I try to give everyone the benefit of the doubt and I have no ill will toward police. (*I wonder*) what was his goal? [African-American female 4-5-2008]

An African family lives in a house near Friendly. They have a neighbor who threatened them with a gun. They had two family members murdered since coming here. A complaint was issued for the number of parked cars for mourning and they were ticketed. A Black family with three disabled family members and their caregivers come out…a neighbor called police and the city. The white neighbor claimed they were stealing water and told police they thought they were conducting a scam from the house. [African-American female 4-5-2008]

Police harassment
In all cases, the stories that included a component of police harassment were examples of racial/ethnic discrimination, with harassment overwhelmingly directed toward African-Americans in the Greensboro community, but also toward immigrants such as Arabs and black Africans:

My spouse was falsely arrested because of a so-called traffic violation. The officer who arrested him was wrong and terrorized us. When asked about it he came up with many excuses. We had to hire a lawyer and take it to court. [African-American female 4-8-2008]

Police will pull [you over] or arrest [you] for looking a certain way [African-American male 5-18-2008]

My son is clean cut, but is stopped because he drives a Lexus. [African-American female 5-18-2008]

At 2 a.m. my son called and said seven police cars pulled his car and "tore it up" [searched it] without giving a reason. They stopped when they found his Bennett College security badge. When he asked why he was pulled he was put in the back of a car and his car was searched. This has happened twice and the frequency increases at the end of the month when they are trying to meet their quota. [African-American female 5-18-2008]

On the side of town I live in, I see mostly young Black men being stopped and pulled over, a sort of racial profiling. [4-8-2008, Peeler Center]

There was an incident in which a man was arrested – I can't remember if it was because he was Middle Eastern or his religion. I feel people assumed he had no rights because he was a foreigner. [Caucasian female 4-8-2008]

Poor service from law enforcement officials
African-American participants told stories suggesting that sometimes when police are needed, they are slow to respond and do not always provide solutions to issues in African-American

communities. Rather than feeling helped by police, these individuals felt betrayed or neglected. The following comments illustrate this trend:

> Me and my husband were on our way to [a party]…dressed up, fur coat, whole 9 yards. On Lawndale Avenue, we were t-boned by a young man on a cell phone with a pizza going to a party. I'm fine, but my ears ring. The traffic stopped, people checked on us. The man stayed in his car. Citizens said they would stay and give emergency workers the details. The police officer was trying to console the kid. My husband had to keep asking the police officer for information - who was very nonchalant. No one was hurt; the tow truck came. The Officer was going to leave us on the corner. His response to my request for transportation home was that our residence was out of his area. I sat in his car because I was cold and figured he had to take us home then. He ultimately took us home. I had to search for case details as the PD didn't offer any information to us. I felt the police officer was trying hard to not have anything bad put on the kid's record. From what I could find, the kid never went to court. Each time I called the PD to check the status – as a citizen who could have been hurt –and believed things in the paper (about the police department) could be true. I felt no compassion from officer and wonder what did this young man learn – other than he can do whatever and will be protected. [African American female 4-8-2008]

> My kids got into a fight the other day, and I called the police. They took two hours to come out, and they did nothing. One police officer smacked my daughter. What kind of police does that? [African American female 5-18-2008]

Several gay and lesbian interviewees reported having positive and professional experiences with the Greensboro police. They each described experiences where they had contacted the Greensboro police because of vandalism and harassment that they thought was directed to them because of their sexual orientation. They said the police officers treated them respectfully and professionally. Although focus group participants acknowledged that race is more of a factor when it comes to treatment by police officers, a few individuals offered a set of experiences that indicate some level of differential treatment. One interviewee thought some of the Greensboro police officers could use training related to gay and lesbian issues, specifically related to domestic violence and harassment, reporting that he knows of three Greensboro police officers who have been "more hateful" to the gay and lesbian population. Many of the focus group participants suggested they would be reticent to report incidents of harassment or abuse to the Greensboro police, for fear of being humiliated. The following comments are indicative of these trends:

> Neighborhoods really determine the response time of police. Discrimination falls more on racial lines. But once they appear and see a Gay or Lesbian couple, their attitudes certainly change. [6-25-2008]

> There's a different form to fill out for gay domestic abuse and heterosexual domestic abuse, and although the police are aware, they don't readily offer that information, and the incorrect form causes judges to dismiss cases. [6-25-2008]

> They don't want to come in the house once they learn you are gay. [6-25-2008]

D. Major Life Events Discrimination – Surveys

With few exceptions, the same patterns of relative importance of the various statuses (race, income, etc.) are seen in survey results for **major life events discrimination**, which are forms of discrimination that limit access to resources and information, or unfairly target people for punishment on behalf of an institution (employers, realtors, police, teachers, etc.). Tables 16-18 provide the survey results as the percentage specific groups reporting that they have experienced discrimination *within the past 12 months* by employers, by law enforcement, teachers/school officials, or realtors/landlords. A summary analysis follows Table 19.

Table 16. Percent reporting major life events discrimination at least once in the past year, by disability status

Major Life Events Discrimination	Non-disabled	Disabled
Fired unfairly	10	12
Unfairly not hired	12	15
Stopped by police unfairly or harassed	9	6
Threatened or assaulted by police	2	3
Discouraged in education	5	9
Prevented from renting/buying	3	3
Difficulty with neighbors	5	9
Moved because of neighbors	3	6

NOTE: percentages not weighted to be representative of general population in terms of gender, age, immigrant status, sexual orientation, race, education or income level

Table 17. Percent reporting major life events discrimination at least once in the past year, by income level

Major Life Events Discrimination	Under 20k/yr	$20-40k/yr	Over $40k/yr
Fired unfairly	16	11	6
Unfairly not hired	22	12	5
Stopped by police unfairly or harassed	14	8	4
Threatened or assaulted by police	5	1	1
Discouraged in education	9	5	2
Prevented from renting/buying	7	3	1
Difficulty with neighbors	9	7	3
Moved because of neighbors	6	3	2

NOTE: percentages not weighted to be representative of general population in terms of gender, age, immigrant status, sexual orientation, race, education or income level

Table 18. Percent reporting major life events discrimination at least once per week, by education level

Major Life Events Discrimination	High school or less	At least some college
Fired unfairly	12	18
Unfairly not hired	17	9
Stopped by police unfairly or harassed	12	6
Threatened or assaulted by police	3	2
Discouraged in education	8	4
Prevented from renting/buying	6	2
Difficulty with neighbors	7	5
Moved because of neighbors	6	2

NOTE: percentages not weighted to be representative of general population in terms of gender, age, immigrant status, sexual orientation, race, education or income level

Patterns for **major life events discrimination** are similar to common prejudicial behaviors. The data for major life events discrimination for gays, lesbians, bisexuals and transgender people mirror the data for prejudicial behavior, with occasionally small differences between their experiences and those of heterosexuals. Major life events discrimination for foreign-born and foreign language speakers also parallels prejudicial behavior, with little difference between immigrants and US-born English speakers. A slight increase in not being hired occurred for foreign-speakers (but not immigrants), and reports of difficulties with realtors, landlords and neighbors were higher for both immigrants and foreign language speakers. However, there are some exceptions to the similarities between the incidence of prejudice and life event discrimination for specific groups. While experiencing more major life events discrimination than non-disabled individuals, people with disabilities report much greater discrimination in prejudicial interpersonal activities.

Women report less frequent major life events discrimination than do men, particularly for discrimination from law enforcement and employers. The only category that consistently produced higher scores for women was discouragement from attending school, especially for women who were Asian, Latina or Other on the survey. Scores were similar to men on the question about discrimination from neighbors.

Finally, Table 19 again pairs race and income level, in this case to understand major life events discrimination in Greensboro. Income again predicts the degree to which the various racial groups experience discrimination, although Asians report very little life event discrimination within the past year, and Latinos and Native Americans of various income levels report frequent employment and law enforcement discrimination and less frequent discrimination concerning housing or education.

Table 19. Percent reporting major life events discrimination at least once in the past year, by racial/ethnic category

Fired unfairly	Asian	Black	Latino	Native Am	White	Other
<20k/yr	0	20	15	40	18	33
20-40k/yr	50	11	0	25	10	25
40+k/yr	0	11	25	25	5	0
Unfairly not hired						
<20k/yr	25	28	46	40	12	67
20-40k/yr	0	8	25	25	12	75
40+k/yr	0	7	25	25	5	0
Stopped by police unfairly or harassed						
<20k/yr	0	19	23	20	9	33
20-40k/yr	0	11	0	0	7	25
40+k/yr	0	10	13	25	3	13
Threatened or assaulted by police						
<20k/yr	0	8	0	0	3	33
20-40k/yr	0	1	0	0	1	0
40+k/yr	0	3	0	25	1	0
Discouraged in education						
<20k/yr	25	15	0	0	6	0
20-40k/yr	0	11	0	0	1	75
40+k/yr	8	4	13	25	2	0
Prevented from buying/renting						
<20k/yr	0	12	15	20	2	0
20-40k/yr	0	3	13	0	2	50
40+k/yr	0	1	0	0	1	0
Neighbors difficult						
<20k/yr	0	8	15	0	10	0
20-40k/yr	0	8	13	0	4	50
40+k/yr	0	0	13	25	3	25
Moved because of neighbors						
<20k/yr	0	10	8	0	4	0
20-40k/yr	0	4	13	0	1	25
40+k/yr	0	1	13	0	2	0

NOTE: percentages not weighted to be representative of general population in terms of gender, age, immigrant status, sexual orientation, race, education or income level

African Americans experience more discrimination with lower income levels, and consistently have relatively high scores in all life events discussed. African Americans of higher income levels reported very little recent discrimination concerning housing, which suggests that race and class work together to create geographic housing segregation and greater barriers to fair housing, particularly for that population.

E. Discussion of Overall Themes in Human Relations in Greensboro

The following discussion reviews both interpersonal relations and types of systematic discrimination through a review of the four major themes that emerged as particularly salient across conversations and interviews with Greensboro residents. These themes are: 1) fear of differences, 2) civility or patronizing tolerance, 3) transparency or openness, and 4) equity in resources and power (Table 21). They can be seen as a spectrum or continuum from negative human relations (fear and civility) to neutral human relations (transparency) to expectations of fully positive social relations (equity). The following table presents the themes and examples of types of human relations under each theme. The table also outlines the level of social organization that appeared most relevant to each of the examples. The idea is to understand where the City's efforts might be most fruitfully placed to address different human relations issues.

Table 20. Major Themes Discussed by Participants, with Examples and the Level of Society at which Themes were Predominantly Discussed

Concept	Example	Level
Fear	Misunderstanding	All levels – personal, family, neighborhood, organized community groups, city-wide, national, international
	Wariness of differences	
Civility	Tolerance	City-wide
	Placation	
	Denial	
	Condescension/ denigration/ paternalism	
	Lack of progress/change/action	
Transparency	Openness	Personal/ Individual
	Accountability	City-wide
	Dialogue/ communication	Organized community groups, Family, National/ international
	Respect	City-wide
	Knowledge/exposure	Community/ neighborhood
Equity	Segregation/integration	Community/ neighborhood
	Fairness, targeting or distinct treatment	City-wide
	Power	Personal/ Individual
	Resources/opportunity	City-wide

Participants consistently provided references to the notion of *civility being alive and well* in Greensboro today: in their words, civility is a paternalistic tendency to placate, deny or not acknowledge or act on the pressing issues related to discrimination today. In other words, residents repeatedly called for *more than talk* when it comes to dealing with discrimination issues in the city of Greensboro.

Participants nonetheless repeatedly described a system where *talk or communication is essential* in order to achieve transparency, or public knowledge of policy positions and processes. Greensboro residents thus stressed the importance of talking about things openly in order to find common ground, as well as increase their knowledge, exposure and understandings. Often at issue were questions of power and equity, and underlying all of it, many basic fears.

In other words, people recognized the role of generally negative, neutral, and positive social relations in determining the degree of prejudice in interpersonal interactions, as well as in the level of access to information and resources. Furthermore, an analysis of fear, civility, transparency and equity suggests that specific examples or types of human relations tend to occur predictably at a certain level of social organization, and might be best addressed through efforts directed at those levels.

What follows is a summary of these major trends and patterns that underlie human relations in the city of Greensboro.

Fear
There was one major sentiment underlying the other three themes: fear. Fear was implicated in the maintenance of civility, or the effort to ignore problems and issues. Fear was perceived as a barrier to transparency, and a strong force against equity.

> There is a fear for everyone to sit at the table and talk about things. What is everyone's fear? We need to talk…it's a failure on the part of humanity to just talk… [African American female 4-12-2008]

Civility
The concept of civility includes saying one thing to make things appear 'fine' but not necessarily taking action. The concept of civility embraces subcategories of tolerance, paternalism and condescension. Interestingly, people's comments that include the theme of civility almost exclusively focus on the city-wide level. People, in other words, are expressing a feeling that nothing ever comes of city-wide or public conversations regarding discrimination in Greensboro.

Specifically, when Greensboro residents made references to the concept of civility, they do so with a focus at the city level. Research participants commented on city denial, lack of action on the part of city officials, and a non-prioritization of funds. Their comments suggest that productive action to improve human relations in this realm can only be taken at the Greensboro city level. The following comments illustrate this trend:

Having been here all my life, I see that you can only get so far, but then there is less transparency. Having one of these groups every 10 years…then, everyone just sort of chugs along…people are afraid to go beyond little groups like these….stories like this need to be revealed…Greensboro, I don't think, pushes itself to deal with issues…status quo is important in Greensboro…There was the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, but nothing ever comes of it…We'll leave here feeling pretty good about this…but what happened after the 1998 study…what quantifiable issues were raised? [African American male 4-12-2008]

Greensboro has always been "pat you on the head"…That's fine. [African American female]

The word tolerance is a very interesting one… the bone that's thrown…you can do whatever you want as long as you (stay out of the way)…as long as one stays in their place. [Caucasian female 4-12-2008]

If people get radical, the people in power ask "What do we need to do?" and the citizens of Greensboro get a bone thrown at them. [African American female 4-12-2008]

When we do sessions like this, this is not real data. There has to be a concerted effort to make sure that others are represented and when we do get the data, they have to see the change, someone's going to have to eventually actually do something. [African American male 5-18-2008]

In Greensboro, it's assimilation. So if you don't come out and say anything about the power struggle, Greensboro is a lovely city. It's sleeping racism, not overt racism. [African American male 4-12-2008]

We never go from suggestions to policy, in part because Human Relations has not been given the proper tools or resources. We just rely on the good will of many organizations to do the right thing. [African American male 4-12-2008]

Even some situations—where it appeared change was occurring in Greensboro—turned out to be acts of civility, according to Greensboro residents:

The ones on the street look nice, but if you go back to the apartments…that's just a façade. When you go into the heart of the neighborhood, nothing has changed. There is a section 8 on Battleground that caters to white people. You couldn't tell it was section 8. [African American female 4-12-2008]

The Human Relations Committee has championed the cause of women but has not received respect or priority in budget to accomplish it. [African American male 4-12-2008]

Transparency
Midway along a continuum of human relations, transparency provides a neutral space for human relations to develop. The concept of transparency was discussed with reference to a variety of levels of social organization. One major component of transparency was accountability. The feeling that it is the city's responsibility to recognize the problem and accept the report of the Truth and Reconciliation commission was a theme that arose again and again in relation to providing transparency and accountability.

The city needs to recognize that there is a problem. The city needs to admit that we are not all that we say we are, especially in the incident of the Morningside Massacre. [African American male 5-18-2008]

Greensboro wants to look good, but they hide their dirty laundry. [African American 3-18-2008]

The city needs to offer a formal apology about things that have happened in the past. [African American 5-18-2008]

Until you deal with the reality of how we got here you can't deal with the real issues. I think the number one thing—Truth and Reconciliation. Greensboro, the reality is, the powers that be will not admit to their failures. You won't fix anything if you believe everything is OK. [African American male 5-18-2008]

Included in this component of transparency is a sense that those in power cannot ignore issues without being scrutinized. Research participants pressed upon the importance of systems which hold public officials accountable for their actions. People called for very specific lines of accountability for elected officials and law enforcement agents. The following comments hint at the importance of this aspect of transparency:

The police need to be made accountable for their actions…observe a citizens patrol. [African American male]

Create a Police Citizen Review Board with subpoena power. [African-American 3-18-2008]

Whoever is holding power in Greensboro are behind closed doors when those decisions are made. [African American female 4-12-2008]

Human Relations has not been given the proper tools or resources. The police have internal investigations but they need a review board...an objective body...a housing board for the ability to appeal to a citizen. [African American male 4-12-2008]

In addition to openness and accountability, participants also called for unity in the city, particularly through increased communication or dialogue among diverse constituents. This sense of openness in Greensboro, another major component of transparency, was often discussed at an individual or interpersonal level. As one focus group participant put it, "regardless of what the city does, it is up to the individual to act." These comments suggest an increased importance for interpersonal, neighborhood, or city-wide events that encourage communication among diverse groups of people to alleviate the fear that underlies many interpersonal relations. Their words suggest a recognition that organized community groups have a role to play in creating a sense of openness in Greensboro. The following comments illustrate this point:

The Ministerial Alliance is diverse. The Pulpit [Forum] is Black. [We need to] get them talking among themselves. [African American male 4-12-2008]

We need to be more unified. I don't know exactly how to make it happen. More all-encompassing city-wide events may be one way to promote more unity. {Caucasian female 4-5-2008]

We need dialogue [African American male 5-18-2008]

The problem with that…parents who need to hear that message are not in the church. Start bringing them together and it will reach out into the community. We need to sit down and face our problems. [African American female 4-12-2008]

We isolate but we need a coalition of churches and neighborhoods that brings everyone to the table, including the police, so they may be part of the solution. [African American male 4-12-2008]

There isn't enough dialogue between the races where problems can be solved. There should be a commonality where you bring in all races and say that nobody is to blame, let's straighten it out. [African American female 5-18-2008]

Participants considered the sharing of knowledge to be a particular task needed to accomplish unity:

They have a big crime problem. People don't know the extent of gangs and drugs in the city. [African American female 4-12-2008]

Once we realize the gang problem is all over, a commonality we are starting to see, then we can start to address some things. [African American female 4-12-2008]

City officials need to see our lifestyle firsthand in order to appreciate the real needs and issues of the community. [male 6-16-08]

Equity

Lastly, the theme of equity is one that arose many times in conversations with Greensboro residents. The concept of equity recognizes and supports differences, but actually seeks to provide access, information and resources to all groups, even through targeted efforts if need be. Discussions of equity most often related to a *lack* of equity, or holding expectations of equity, rather than examples of equitable distribution of resources that are occurring. In most cases, Greensboro residents made reference to the city's responsibility in resolving economic disparity issues. The following comments illustrate this trend.

I have a lot of friends in real estate, and whether by choice or suggestion, our neighborhoods are identifiable by white or Black. [African American male 4-12-2008]

The disparities are with the money…the laws or the economic disproportion of money, these are things we have to look at. I don't have to live in your home, I don't care if you like me, but be equal. [African American male 4-12-2008]

Schools need to receive the same types of books, new for all, and have qualified teachers to teach the children. [African American 5-18-2008]

Participants often talked about inequity in resources, specifically:

With school bonds, all the money will go to white schools. Resources are not shared equitably. [Caucasian Female 4-12-2008]

> We need living wage increases. And the salaries of Whites, Blacks and Hispanics are now tiered. The hourly rate of whites may range from $15 per hour up. Blacks $8-12, Hispanics start at the minimum wage of $8.

Not surprisingly, there was also frequent mention of "power," specifically referring to individuals in power positions. In this sense, the concept of equity also is applicable to individual level or inter-personal interactions. Some participants indicated that the people of Greensboro need guidance or opportunities to better understand the importance of equity and to rise above their fear that their jobs or positions of power are in danger. The following comment illustrates this trend:

> White women, white people in general have a tremendous amount of denial. A lot of problems have to do with white people trying to hold on to a way of life…power. [Caucasian female 4-12-2008]

F. Complaints to Greensboro Human Relations Commission

Complaints filed with the Greensboro Human Relations Commission include both the prejudicial behavior and major life events discrimination described in this report. Complaints found by the Commission to have 'cause' typically involve the withholding of resources or information from somebody from a protected class.

1. Housing Complaints

When housing discrimination complaints are filed, investigation and attempts at voluntary conciliation are both begun as separate and parallel processes. If the conciliation efforts result in a mutually-acceptable outcome, then the parties sign a conciliation agreement and the investigation is closed. If a conciliation agreement is not reached, the investigation proceeds, usually resulting in court determinations or out-of-court settlements. A "no cause" determination means that the investigation finds that there is no reasonable cause to believe that discrimination occurred based upon evidence obtained in investigation (US HUD 2007).

A total of 125 individual cases were filed with the Greensboro Human Relations Commission over the past 10 years regarding housing, including alleged harassment or other unfair treatment by neighbors, landlords/management, and realtors, with 55 (44 percent) complaints conciliated, determined to have cause, or pursued in court; 46 (37 percent) having no cause or withdrawn; 21 (17 percent) not pursued because complainant could not be located, and nine (7 percent) unclear. Eighteen complaints were for owner-occupied dwellings (11 buyers, 7 owners), 102 were by renters and a few prospective renters of private properties (including mobile home parks), four in Greensboro Housing Authority properties, one in a hotel (not considered a dwelling). The results of this summary are presented in Table 21.

Table 21. Housing Discrimination Complaints, by Protected Status, Location, and Year

Group	% Complaints	Location	% Complaints	Year	Number of Complaints
Black	30	Greater Downtown	13	1998	1
Hispanic	33	North	4	1999	4
African	2	Northwest	6	2000	14
Other Immigrant	2	Northeast	8	2001	16
Physical Disability	16	South	5	2002	10
Mental Disability	4	Southwest	46	2003	8
Familial Status	13	Southeast	4	2004	36
Female	6	W of Downtown	3	2005	6
Religion	1	West	7	2006	11
White	2	Unclear	2	2007	10

Percent complaints for groups totals 110 percent, because of multiple statuses for some individuals. Percent complaints for area of Greensboro totals 98 percent because of rounding.

The few non-rental/homeowner property claims that resulted in conciliation and/or "cause" findings all involved discrimination on the basis of disability. These cases were scattered throughout zip codes 27401 (greater downtown area), 27405 (northeast Greensboro), and 27410 (western Greensboro).

Tenants and prospective renters whose claims resulted in conciliation and/or "cause" findings are distributed in something of a horseshoe shape. The horseshoe begins with a single location in 27408, continues clockwise through 27455 (to the north and east), through 27401 (the greater downtown area), through the UNCG area and northern Glenwood neighborhood portions of 27403 (but excluding the Sunset Hills and Lindley Park portions of 27403), into 27406 (mostly west of the north-south railroad tracks, excluding much of southeast Greensboro), and then back up and into 27407 and 27409, following the path of I-40 through southwest Greensboro and West Market Street, where there is a high concentration of apartment complexes. The locations that are not covered by this horseshoe shape include neighborhoods with low concentrations of rental properties, such as the predominantly owner-occupied single-occupancy dwellings in neighborhoods found in 27410 and 27408 in northwest Greensboro.

Tenants and prospective renters whose cases resulted in conciliation and/or "cause" findings include all the different protected classes. The largest group is Hispanics, and these cases occurred in basically all the same areas that all the other cases occurred, that is, they are scattered evenly throughout the entire horseshoe pattern. The next largest group—cases of discrimination against disabled renters—are also distributed fairly evenly throughout this same pattern. Cases of discrimination against black renters (whether African-American or black African) occurred primarily in southwestern Greensboro (south of the airport and west of Elm Street), and all cases occurred in west Greensboro (west of Elm Street). Cases of discrimination by familial status occurred throughout western Greensboro (west of Elm Street), and the other cases (religion,

white race, female) occurred in southwest and southeast Greensboro.

2. Non-housing complaints

There were nine complaints filed with the Commission not related to housing, seven of which were related to race/ethnicity (typically African American, one Puerto Rican), one disability, and one unclear. Three involved conciliation/cause, three were "no cause," and three of unclear status. One was for employment, five regarding public accommodations (services at stores), and three not related to employment, housing, education or law enforcement.

G. Results of Prior Studies

In 1960, Greensboro's residents were approximately 75 percent white and 25 percent Black; in 2006 these figures are just under 50 percent non-Latino Caucasian, 37 percent Black, and 13 percent other races/ethnicities (around half of which are Latino/Hispanic). Additionally, now almost half of Greensboro's residents were not born in North Carolina, and almost 10 percent were born outside the U.S. Economically, *earnings* in Greensboro have not kept pace with other cities of the southeastern U.S. In general, Greensboro residents' positive attitudes toward city government and race relations have been eroded in recent years, in part by recent public and politically charged events.

Appendix I of the report brings together the above findings and others from past studies and press reports concerning human relations in Greensboro. The focus is on the ten years since the last human relations study was commissioned by the City of Greensboro, although some studies and census data from prior decades are included to understand long-term trends. In addition, the appendix includes an overview of the different groups that live in Greensboro, as well as how they experience the four main sectors of interest in this study: employment/economics, housing, education, law enforcement.

IV. RECOMMENDATIONS

The recommendations from the 1998 report similarly focused on employment, housing, education and law enforcement. The 1998 report encouraged the Department/Commission to reach out to Chamber of Commerce, Banking, School Board, Law Enforcement/Justice System, and the Public Sector to discuss the findings of the report and thus begin a dialogue about how to change the state of human relations. The broad recommendations below assume that the dialogue has begun, and that specific actions should now be taken. The specific recommendations under each numbered point, below, are meant as examples and not as the only activities that should be undertaken. Recommendations from the prior report that should continue to be implemented, but which did not emerge from the analysis in this report, are; recognize/reward non-profits and businesses for their efforts in increasing access to employment for individuals of protected status; recognize groups that are involved in celebrating diversity and/or promoting integration; increase city efforts to reduce illegal and negative gang activity; and work with banks to make capital available for businesses owned by people from protected classes.

The recommendations from the current study are as follows:

Greensboro 2008 State of Human Relations Study

1. Fashion existing and future programs to address the impact of low economic status on discrimination, since most kinds of discrimination, but not all, are associated as much with low economic status as with any other characteristic (e.g., gender, race, ethnicity, disability, sexual orientation).

- Schedule locations and times of programs to address needs of individuals with varying work schedules and difficulty with transportation and child care.

- Collaborate with institutions already serving low-income individuals, such as Food Stamps or public housing or employment office, to address discrimination faced by them.

- Make sure that programs express to businesses, landlords, schools and law enforcement that lower paid and less educated individuals are more likely to be discriminated against and face prejudice than are people with more resources and education.

2. Collaborate with other groups, agencies, businesses and institutions to provide further culturally responsive training in employment, law enforcement, housing and education.

- Conduct studies from the perspective of the institutions where discrimination occurs, such as in schools, realty offices, businesses, and city offices, including police. For example, since employment had the highest levels of discrimination, once such study should include employers' human resource policies and employers' experiences with handling of discrimination, not just the experience of employees as in this study.

- Connect small-to-medium-sized businesses to resources in acquainting and training employers about appropriate hiring and promotion activities that are not only in compliance with federal and state laws, but also are considered best practices in given fields. Consider collaborating with community organizations to offer these programs and materials at low cost.

- Provide written materials with clear information about federal regulations concerning the area of interest (e.g., employment, law enforcement, housing, education). This might be done through professional and merchant associations, as well as through the city licensing process.

However, beware that prior studies have shown that forced cultural competency training can backfire and result in resentment and greater discrimination.

3. Improve access to the Department of Human Relations for groups less likely to engage the Department or Commission.

- Conduct regular analyses of the complaints received by the city—who files the complaints, what percentage were deemed actionable or appropriate complaints, what type of complaints were filed, how the complaints were resolved. Present this data to relevant community groups via open community forums.

- Increase outreach activities in minority and disability communities because these populations have greater hesitation in making formal or even informal complaints to the

city, the police, their own employers, their landlords, the Chamber of Commerce, business owners, or education personnel.

- Bring forth group/class action claims (not suits) to alleviate the burden on each individual in that same situation. The City of Greensboro provides attorneys in fair housing cases when reasonable cause is found, but proceeding with a lawsuit typically takes too much time and energy for any given individual with few resources.

- Design future programs and activities to be directed at different kinds of discrimination (direct and indirect) faced by different groups of people (e.g., disabled, immigrants, Latinos, African Americans, women).

- Design future programs and activities to focus on appropriate societal levels (e.g., individual, community groups, city) of the perceived importance of human relations.

- Provide mini-grants to community organizations for developing innovative and targeted programs for the groups that seem to be involved in prejudicial behavior or discrimination.

4. Address geographic disparities in availability and quality of civic, recreational, entertainment and retail resources for various populations across the city, since access to and quality of justice, education, housing and employment opportunities are all affected by proximity to these resources.

- Collaboration with educational institutions can increase the awareness of educational officials of the broader social consequences of tracking large groups of certain populations (e.g., Spanish-speakers, African Americans) into special education via the expectation that they cannot succeed.

- Take a lead role in developing Human Relations Impact Statements associated with economic and community development projects so that development is more geographically even throughout the city.

- Actively promote festivals and events among various groups, in addition to those already likely to attend a specific event, in order to intentionally bring people together for joint social and cultural experiences.

- Participate in transportation planning, zoning, and public housing discussions in order to represent people with protected statuses.

5. Use dialogue to address negative perceptions of City government.

- Address the strong and negative feelings that still exist about the handling of the police leadership turmoil surrounding the last police administration.

- Collaborate with the city council to openly discuss the findings and recommendations of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. People's distrust of city government may heal with time, but this and the police leadership episode are forefront in the minds of many people who distrust city government or feel race relations have gotten worse.

- Communicate findings of this report (and others) to increase transparency and enlist public participation in developing and implementing solutions.

6. Conduct regular updates to this report.

- A suggested methodology has been provided for periodically inquiring as to the state of human relations in Greensboro.

Updates of this report could be posted on the City website and newsletter, sent to general news media and stakeholders, and discussed in public forums in order to generate ideas and public support for more neutral and positive human relations.

V. METHODOLOGY FOR CONDUCTING REGULAR UPDATES TO THIS STUDY

The two major findings of the study (importance of economic status in discrimination, and that different groups of people experience different kinds and levels of discrimination) suggest that a focus group methodology will be the most appropriate for monitoring the state of human relations in between major studies.

The Human Relations Department or other entity conducting the regular updates should adapt the Focus Group Guide (Appendix B) to time and personnel constraints. The questions should relate primarily to 1) the role of economic level in prejudice and discrimination, and 2) the diversity of human relations experiences of various groups.

For the analysis of the focus group results, Table 20 should be used as a guide to understand the degree to which human relations concerns relate to fear, civility, transparency and equity (and thus positive vs. negative human relations), as well as the level at which problems seem to occur and/or at which problems might be best addressed.

In one model, the same people could participate in the focus group from year to year, or at least two years at a time, in order for them to perceive direction of change. In another model, greater attempt is made to switch out people regularly so that greater diversity is achieved. A combination of these two approaches could be used to incur the benefits of both. Participants should be from diverse backgrounds but also have adequate interaction with people from similar (and other) backgrounds so as to be able to comment on the status of human relations. Diaries would be one effective way for participants to keep track of their perceptions, conversations and experiences during the time between focus groups. At least twice yearly, personnel from the Human Relations Department should remind the participants to be keeping notes/diary on their perceptions, conversations and experiences. Participants should be compensated.

VI. INFORMATION ABOUT THE CONTRACTOR

The University of North Carolina at Greensboro Social Research Group, joined by two sociologists from North Carolina A&T State University, conducted this research project for the City of Greensboro's Department of Human Relations. The Group is comprised of scholars with terminal degrees in four fields of expertise, including sociology, political science, communication studies, and anthropology. These specialists bring both complimentary and

overlapping skills to the team, including social science methodology and fieldwork, research design, quantitative and qualitative data analysis, and program administration. The team is collaborative, with all members as co-principal investigators participating in conceptualization and realization of the research project. Prior to this project, the researchers from UNCG and NCA&T have worked with a variety of specific populations in Greensboro, including African Americans, Latinos, Montagnards, Gays/Lesbians/Bi-Sexuals/Transgender individuals, West and East Africans, women, developmentally and physically disabled people, and people of various socioeconomic classes.

For this project, the Lead Principal Investigator was Ruth DeHoog, the head of the Political Science department at UNCG; other principal investigators from UNCG and NCA&T were Robert Davis, Terrolyn Carter, Eric Jones, Spoma Jovanovic, Arthur Murphy and Stephen Sills. Thirteen students from UNCG and NCA&T provided considerable assistance with literature review and data collection. The following UNCG and NCA&T students served as research assistants: Eliza Blake, Paul Como, Jasmine Dixon, Amy Ernstes, Sonia Haga, Michael Harding, Nathaniel Ivers, Janay Johnston, Jacob Kidd, Kelly Parris, Amy Morse, Danielle Plesser, and Marshica Stanley. The Office of Contracts and Grants at UNCG, along with the administrative assistant in the Department of Anthropology, oversaw the accounting of the contract.

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APPENDIX A. PROJECT METHODOLOGY

The project's data collection methods included the following:
1. **Secondary document analysis** (past 10 years of discrimination complaints to Commission on employment, housing, educational opportunity and law enforcement, among other topics; regional real estate mortgage lending trends by ethnicity; prior reports from other studies)
2. Fourteen **focus groups** with stakeholder groups of mixed gender and age (physical ability, sexual orientation, national origin, and race, with at least three groups from the latter)
3. **In-depth interviews** with members of various demographic groups
4. **Survey questionnaires** by phone/email/in-person/web with 1000 individuals through a stratified sample

The following represents the project timeline for the 2008 assessment of the State of Human Relations in Greensboro:

January/February 2008 – Review and Planning
- Review prior reports and complaints to Commission
- Develop research instruments; refine and revise pre-existing instruments
- Identify stakeholder groups with assistance from Dept. of Human Relations

March/April 2008 – Focus Groups
- Train a diverse group of focus group facilitators and notetakers
- Coordinate and conduct focus groups with stakeholder groups

May 2008 – Interviews and Survey Research
- Conduct in-depth interviews with individuals to supplement focus group data
- Administer mail/web surveys with 1000 individuals in a stratified sample of Greensboro

June 2008 – Finalize Research; Complete Report
- Complete mail/web surveys and analyze survey data
- Provide a draft of the comprehensive written report for Department of Human Relations

Each technique for engaging stakeholder groups and relevant populations was meant to feed the development of a further technique. The literature review supplemented the Call for Proposals in helping determine the gaps in knowledge about various populations. The City of Greensboro's Human Relations Department assisted in the identification of groups with which to conduct focus groups. Focus groups determined the range of experiences of people, helped to develop the in-depth interviews that covered gaps in focus group results, and guided the revision of the survey questionnaire that was employed.

Legally, people from protected classes vary in terms of the following characteristics: race, color, religion, gender, physical and mental ability, familial status, and national origin. However, additional groups of interest vary in terms of age, sexual orientation, place of residence, income, political beliefs and occupation. The team studied the experiences of people of different races, disabilities, sexual orientation, national origin (each group was varied by age and gender) with personal insight into issues of discrimination and/or inter-group relations.

Secondary Document Analysis

Reports from other studies were gathered and read in order to more fully understand the context for the Five Year Strategic Plan, and to finalize the questions and interview instruments that will be used. The review of 67 studies of Greensboro's human relations was developed by UNCG graduate student Eliza Blake, with the assistance of graduate students Jasmine Dixon, Jacob Kidd, Marshica Stanley and Nathaniel Ivers, as well as senior Michael Harding. That review covered 67 studies focusing on Greensboro. Some other specific highlights of this literature were gathered from the following documentation:

- *News and Record* articles of the past 10 years about gender, immigration and sexual orientation.
- The past 10 years of discrimination complaints to the Human Relations Commission on employment, housing, educational opportunity and law enforcement, among other topics.
- Regional real estate mortgage lending trends by race/ethnicity from Sills (2008) HUD Impediments to Fair Housing Report.

The literature review provided information on trends in housing, education, employment and satisfaction with law enforcement and government, particularly in relation to race/ethnicity, although there has been much less research on gender, disabilities, sexual orientation and immigrant status in Greensboro. The literature review helped in the design of questions for the focus groups, in-depth interviews and survey in order to make comparisons to prior studies and cover gaps not addressed by prior studies.

Focus groups

Focus groups are especially useful for understanding cultural beliefs and complex social issues, as well as identify issues of importance in a community. In particular the focus groups in this project were used to identify public concerns about the status of ethnic/racial relations, racism, and other forms of discrimination in housing, employment, law enforcement, and educational opportunity in Greensboro. Input about how to address these delicate issues was sought during multiple community-oriented discussions or focus groups. Greensboro stakeholders, including organizational members from grassroots neighborhood associations, not-for-profit human and social service agencies, churches, community groups, and community leaders, as well as a demographically representative sample of citizens, were gathered from Greensboro's five Districts.

The attached focus group protocol (Appendix B) was developed in concert with the Greensboro Human Relations Department and the Human Relations Commission. Training on facilitation and note taking for focus groups was conducted for Principal Investigators and students on the team. In addition to a press release put out by the Greensboro Human Relations Department, publicity for the focus groups included the calling of, and delivery of letters (Appendix C) to, the 40+ individuals and entities from the stakeholder list supplied by the Greensboro Human Relations Department (Appendix D), as well as other stakeholders identified by team members. The Greensboro Neighborhood Congress distributed a flyer (Appendix E) to neighborhood groups and other relevant organizations, and FaithAction International distributed the flyer to a list of approximately 200 faith-based organizations. The flyers were also posted in dozens of locations near the meeting places. Additionally, the focus groups were announced on the Peace and Justice Network, and newspaper articles were published by the *News and Record* (4/3/08

B3) and *The Peacemaker* (4/11/2008). The Greensboro Department of Human Relations website advertised the study (**http://www.greensboro-nc.gov/departments/Relations/study.htm**) and sent out a press release (3/27/08). Dates, places and estimate of number of participants in the 14 focus groups were as follows:

- Thurs., April 3, 6-8 p.m., Christ Lutheran Church (city District 3), – 3 participants (1 group)
- Sat., April 5, 10 a.m.-12 p.m., Immanuel Baptist Church (city District 5) – 8 participants (2 groups)
- Tues. April 8, 6-8 p.m., Peeler Recreation Center (city District 2) – 12 participants (2 groups)
- Tues., April 8, 6-8 p.m., Peace United Church of Christ (city District 4)– 8 participants (2 groups)
- Sat., April 12, 10 a.m.-12 p.m., Shiloh Baptist Church (city District 1) – 12 participants (2 groups)
- Sun., May 18, 5:30-7:30 p.m., New Light Baptist Church – 40 participants (3 groups)
- Mon., June 16, 3:30-5:00 p.m., Bell House, a facility for residents with cerebral palsy – 6 participants (1 group)
- Wed., June 25, 6:30-8:30 p.m., UNCG Graham Building – 6 participants (1 group)

In total, 95 people participated, with the following as an approximate racial and gender makeup of the total: 67 percent African American, 25 percent Caucasian, 4 percent Latino, 3 percent Native American; 65 percent female, 35 percent male.

People found the focus group experience to be positive, and only three people (from different focus groups) said in an anonymous focus group evaluation (Appendix F) that they did not feel comfortable sharing their opinions with their group (one provided a number of contradictory answers to the survey questions, another person shared that they were disgruntled with past experiences with the Human Relations Department, and the third had many disagreements with others in the focus group). Of note is that a sizable minority answered in the focus group evaluation questionnaire that there were things that they did not share with the group. As a preliminary indicator of the degree of discrimination that the study would uncover, 50 percent of the participants said they were treated with less respect than other people more than once per year on average, based on the anonymous individual survey that they filled out (Appendix G), .

A coding rubric was created for analysis of focus group data. Prominent themes from the focus groups, upon which the coding rubric is based, include transparency, respect, openness, paternalism, communication/dialogue, tolerance, fear, accountability, knowledge, progress/change/action, power, resources/mandate, equity, targeting, segregation. The coding rubric may be added to or subtracted from during analysis as warranted by appearance and distribution of themes.

Analysis of focus group data
To understand the kinds of barriers experienced by different demographic groups/protected statuses in Greensboro, with greatest focus on employment, education, housing and law enforcement/judicial system, a coding rubric was applied to data from all but two of the focus groups. Those two will be analyzed for the final report.

Specifically, to make sense of the rich data collected, researchers implemented qualitative content analysis. Using written transcripts from each focus group, data were condensed, clustered and sorted based on key words and concepts. Because interactions within groups influence the data elicited, researchers also paid attention to overall group patterns, noting the ways in which group members responded to one another's comments. Though it is unlikely that, with another mix of group participants, the exact data would be collected, researchers were able to identify a set of major concepts and themes that emerged *across* focus groups, indicating the validity of those patterns and allowing some confidence in the generalization of the study's findings. The analysis also seeks to note differences between reports of personal experiences/incidents vs. reports of what others have experienced and arrive at some general idea of the relative amount of one versus the other.

Researchers "triangulated" research findings, looking for similarities and differences between focus group patterns and patterns that emerge from individual surveys to further reinforce the validity of the major concepts proposed. The broad objectives for coding and analysis were to understand:
- a. types of discrimination
- b. which groups are experiencing what types of discrimination
- c. how people see their access to information and opportunities affected by their own socio-demographic characteristics
- d. how people see access to information and opportunities affected by race, gender, etc.
- e. dominant themes
- f. specific options for improving access to information and opportunities, reducing discrimination, improving inter-group relations and reducing 'isms'
- g. ways in which levels of social organization relate to the above issues

Focus group participants reported numerous stories of discrimination and barriers to opportunities, information and resources. In some cases, those stories were personal (involving themselves or their close family members) and in other cases those stories were retold accounts of discrimination against others. For the most part, people's stories of racial/ethnic discrimination as well as gender discrimination were told as first-hand accounts. This is particularly true for males; females, on the other hand, tended to more often contextualize their comments within the experience of others.

Methodology for conducting survey
The objective of the survey was to understand variation in the experiences of people in Greensboro surrounding issues of human relations. To achieve this objective, the team used questions from the Detroit Area Discrimination Scale, and added relevant demographic questions. The goal was to collect 1000 surveys, which was exceeded with the total being 1168. Surveys were split between and representative of the five city districts. Due to the short time frame of the study, limited budget and difficulty of obtaining a random sample with some of the target populations that would also cover people's diverse experiences, a mixed-media convenience sampling strategy was used. People were contacted through several means, including in person, by email, through mail, or by phone, and identified through a variety of possible avenues, including community groups, random selection of phone numbers in the phone book, and convenience stores/malls/bus stops/grocery store locations.

The sampling strategy was to interview all kinds of people, and especially those from the various protected statuses. The goal was to obtain at least the percentage of the general population that a group is—for example, at least 360 African Americans and at least 530 women of diverse backgrounds from different parts of the city out of a 1000-person sample. Some smaller populations were overrepresented in order to obtain sufficient data for quantitative analysis.

The attached survey protocol (Appendix G) was developed in concert with the Human Relations Department and Commission. Training on interviewing was subsequently conducted for field interviewers on the team, a racially diverse group of students from UNCG and NCA&T. Interviewers began individual surveys in late April and completed them in May. Each interviewee was provided with information on the project and contact numbers if they had questions (Appendix H).

There were four general techniques for conducting surveys: face-to-face, written, phone and the internet. Each version was adapted for different purposes and populations.

First, the **face-to-face survey** came in two different formats, long and short. It was used when participants have time to stop and immediately participate in the survey when approached by the researcher. The long survey was the survey of choice by researchers because it produced more detailed and specific information about participants' experiences in Greensboro. However, when participants had limited time and yet were still willing to stop and participate, then the short survey was used (approximately three dozen of the 300+ face-to-face surveys).

Second, **the written survey** was used in various situations when participants did not have time to participate in the survey when approached by a researcher but still expressed interest in contributing to the study. Additionally, written surveys are useful when the researcher has access to a group (such as apartment complex, class, or organization) but was unable to physically be there to conduct and collect the survey. The written survey had the same questions on it as the long face-to-face survey.

Surveying was conducted in a multitude of locations, including apartment complexes, shopping centers, bus station, city parks, festivals, and summer school classrooms. Interviewers made repeated visits to these locations, varying the days and times of the visits (weekdays, weekends, daytimes, and evenings) in order to access people who use these facilities in different ways. In addition, they set up booths at local events (primarily festivals and music events), and contacted local churches, businesses and organizations, especially those who serve minority populations, and arranged to distribute written surveys or conduct interviews with their staff, members, and clients. The written survey that was handed out to people to mail in with a self-addressed and stamped envelope was available in both English and Spanish, but the face-to-face and web survey were in English only.

Typically, two interviewers traveled to the various locations for safety reasons, and in some instances up to five researchers went to locations for camaraderie and effective canvassing of a neighborhood or event. When going to locations, researchers went during the day (typically between 10 a.m. and 6 p.m.) for safety, but also because the daytime produces the highest

number of respondents. In-person interviews had more positive outcomes when people were approached in less invasive public spaces. The bus station, several parks and public spaces such as major shopping centers were visited, mostly associated with events. For festivals, parks, libraries, and other public spaces and events, permission was obtained from appropriate security officials and management.

Door-to-door surveys were conducted throughout Greensboro in an attempt to contact people who might not have a land-line telephone, people without access to the web survey, or people unlikely to be interviewed at an event. Individual homes, apartments/condos, and businesses were approached for interviews. When apartments did not allow solicitations, complex managers were contacted and typically the manager either gave interviewers permission or took a stack of written surveys to distribute to tenants as they passed through the office. Businesses were often open to distributing surveys to their employees or to customers. One apartment complex was chosen for the number of elderly, disabled, and/or "shut-ins" residing there. However, all residents contacted were not receptive to participating in the survey, and some requests provoked hostile or odd responses In a neighborhood known as an enclave of refugees and other immigrants, the majority of the residents who were willing to open their doors to the researchers were not able to participate because they did not speak English. A Spanish-language version of the written survey was developed and distributed to Spanish-speaking or Latino-oriented businesses by Spanish-speaking researchers.

Third, interviewers conducted **telephone interviews** as well, starting as early as 9 a.m. and ending as late as 8 p.m. The interviewers used written survey protocol and they received good response rates in general, with a much greater response rate on phone calls when the introduction was shortened to explain the caller was simply a UNCG/NCA&T student working on a research project and asking for their assistance by taking a short survey. Once the caller agreed, information was given per the legal specifications of the Institutional Review Board at UNCG. During the phone interview process, the lowest receptivity and highest hostility occurred 5:30 p.m. to 7:00 p.m. Highest responses occurred from 11:00 a.m. to 4:00 p.m., during which interviewers were able to collect data from a wide variety of respondents including, but not limited to: disabled, retired, self-employed, stay-at-home moms, and those who work second-shift. In selecting phone survey respondents, greater attention was given to homes located in zip codes underrepresented by the other survey techniques.

On average, research assistants calling Greensboro telephone phone numbers found that about 10 percent of their attempts resulted in completed surveys. About 23 percent of the call attempts resulted in refusals, and the remaining two-thirds of the attempted calls resulted in no contact being made. Calls averaged about 10 to 15 minutes, with two completed surveys per hour. For both phone and in-person interviews, interviewers realized a greater positive response on cold-calls when the introduction was shortened. Overall, over a third of people contacted by phone were open to the survey. While some individuals reluctantly agreed to respond to the interview, others were thrilled to have someone take the time to hear their opinions of Greensboro woven into their life stories.

Finally, **the web survey** also used a version of the written survey, providing some more detail on a few demographic questions. We contacted organizations and individuals via email with the link

to the web survey, including the original list of stakeholders. The City of Greensboro also advertised the web survey on their intranet, as well as via a link on the Human Relations Department website. Of the 1168 interviews analyzed, 363 were from the web survey. Figure 1 displays the intersection nearest the residence of each of the interviewees, thus showing the geographic distribution of the sample.
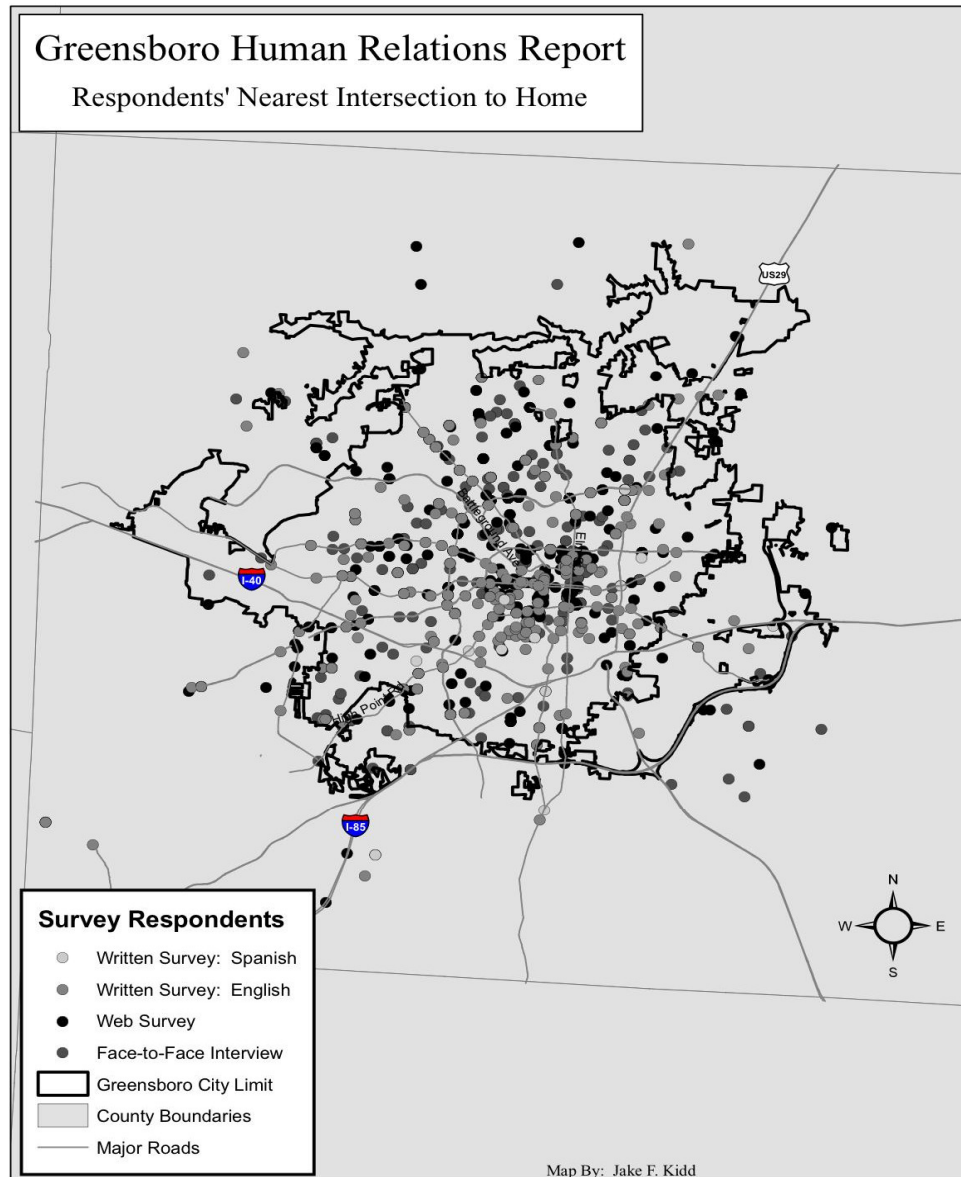

Figure 1. Approximate location of residence of each survey respondent.

Methodology for conducting in-depth interviews
Following the first phase of the research using focus groups and surveys, we also conducted in-depth face-to-face interviews with populations from whom we could not collect input through the other methods. In-depth interview protocols were designed for people from protected statuses

based on themes identified in the focus groups and based on findings from prior studies. These interviews explored individual experiences related to the themes that emerged from the focus groups, examined major issues uncovered by prior studies, and filled in gaps left from focus group interviews. Interviews typically lasted one to one-and-a-half hours. Analysis of in-depth interviews used the same coding rubric as the focus group interviews. Eight immigrants and seven gay/lesbian/bisexual/transgender individuals were interviewed with in-depth protocols.

APPENDIX B. FOCUS GROUP GUIDE

Recorder(s)_____   Date: _____
Place: _____   Room:_____

Focus Group Participants (record first name only)

1 _____   5 _____   9 _____
2 _____   6 _____   10 _____
3 _____   7 _____   11 _____
4 _____   8 _____   12 _____

Pre-Discussion Activities
1. Setup recording device and test
2. Greet participants and distribute nametags
3. Distribute/collect consent forms and questionnaires
4. Allow a short period to get a light snack and beverage (10 MIN)

Moderator Instructions
These questions should be modified as needed to maintain the natural flow of the conversation and to explore topics which arise in the course of the focus group. The script below is a general guide to direct the conversation. Probes should be revised as needed to encourage elaboration on answers and to maintain the flow of the conversation. If a participant goes off topic, but is providing useful content, continue probing as needed then redirect to the original script. If off topic conversation does not appear relevant, a casual redirect to original script should be made. Notes of most salient points should be kept by the recorder during interviews. Notes will be used to help PIs while awaiting transcriptions or recordings.

Statement of Purpose 10 minutes PRIOR TO BREAKING OUT INTO FOCUS GROUPS. **READ ALOUD.**
Good evening/good morning. My name is _____, from the University of North Carolina Greensboro/NCA&T. I am part of a team of faculty who are here to conduct a research project for which we will listen to your views and experiences in certain areas of human relations in Greensboro. We thank all of you for joining us today (this evening). Before we begin, I'd like to explain to you the purpose of tonight's gathering:

Our goal today (this evening) is to learn a little about the status of ethnic/racial relations, racism, and other forms of discrimination such as gender, disability, sexual orientation, marital status, immigrant status and religion, specifically in four different areas--housing, employment, law enforcement and education in Greensboro. We have been contracted by the City of Greensboro's Human Relations Department and the Human Relations Commission as outside researchers to produce a report later this summer. This series of community meetings is only one of several methods we will employ in this study.

We will be asking you a number of questions today--to which there are no right or wrong answers. We want to hear from everyone that has something to say. Consider this a chance to make your voice heard. Everyone's opinion will be valued and respected. What you say in this room stays in this room. Federal law and our own research standards require this. We may use what you say, but no statements will be linked to your name. We are audio-taping the discussion

just to be sure that we do not miss any important comments. The recordings are for our records only. It will not be available to groups or individuals outside of the research team. The recordings will be erased once our reports are completed. We will produce a report from today's group, but we will not link any names or other identifying items to comments within the report. We also ask each of you not to share what others have said. It's OK to tell people not here about the general comments that were made, but please do not use anyone's name.

      The logistics are that we will break into groups according to the color on your name tag. Each group will have their own discussion in a separate room, lead by a facilitator and joined by an assistant. Before you head to your rooms, take a few minutes to grab something to drink and eat. We prefer that you eat and drink just where the refreshments are, and you may return for refreshments when you want.

Please plan to stay for the full focus group session, which will last until 7:45 p.m./1:45 am. You will be asked to fill out a brief survey at the end so we capture all the information we need for the study. Does anyone have any general questions about how we will proceed? OK, GREEN goes to_____; YELLOW goes to _____; RED goes to_____; BLUE goes to _____.

Introduction (10MIN) IN GROUPS   TIME BEGIN RECORD_____

Hi. My name is _____, *from UNCG/NCA&T. Our goal today (this evening) is to learn a little about the status of ethnic/racial relations, racism, and other forms of discrimination such as gender, disability, sexual orientation, marital status, immigrant status and religion in housing, employment, law enforcement and education in Greensboro. I will be asking you a number of questions today—again, there are no right or wrong answers. Everyone's opinion will be valued and respected. Also, to repeat, it's OK to share outside this room the general comments that were made, but please do not use anyone's name.*

OTHER GROUND RULES?? – take turns, be respectful of different views, keep your comments limited to what you have experienced and what you believe, stay on the point of the question…

      We'd like to take a few minutes for people to introduce themselves. As I mentioned, my name is _____, and I will be leading today's focus group. I would like to introduce _____ who is/are also members of the research team from UNCG/A&T. He/she/they will be observing and taking notes of our conversation to help make sure we remember all of the important points of our discussion.

1. *Let's go around the table (room) and have each of you briefly introduce yourselves using your first name only, tell us where you're originally from, and one thing that you like about living in Greensboro.*

Discrimination (40 min). *We are now going to spend some time talking about discrimination in Greensboro. Discrimination may include unfair treatment by race or ethnicity, sex or gender, disability, immigrant status and sexual orientation.*

2. *What kinds of discrimination do people in Greensboro face?*
   a. Race/ethnicity?
   b. Gender?
   c. Disability?
   d. Marital/family status?
   e. Sexual orientation?
   f. Immigrant status?

3. *How common is discrimination in Greensboro?*
   a. *In housing?*
   b. *In dealing with law enforcement?*
   c. *In access to educational opportunities?*
   d. *In the workplace?*
4. *Do you know anyone who has dealt with issues of discrimination in Greensboro?*
   a. *What happened?*

Solutions to Discrimination (30 min). *Now let's talk about some of the solutions to these problems.*

5. *What does the City need to do to reduce the instances of discrimination you told me about?*
   a. *Are there any other things that the City could do to promote good relations between different communities, groups or kinds of people?*
   b. *Is there anything else the City could do to promote equal opportunity?*
6. *In your opinion, why hasn't the City done these things you've suggested?*
7. *What do you see as possible barriers to achieving fair treatment for all residents?*
8. *To your knowledge, what is the City currently doing to reduce discrimination and promote greater fairness in these areas?*
9. *Is there anything the City has done that has made the situation worse?*
10. *How does Greensboro compare to other Cities?*

Wrap-up (15 min). *We are nearly finished…*

11. *Are there any things I missed that you'd like to talk about regarding the status of ethnic/racial relations, racism, sexism, and other forms of discrimination?*
12. *Last question - What were your expectations of the discussion today?*

Thank you for taking the time to talk with us today (this evening). Your comments have been extremely helpful to us. Please encourage your friends and colleagues to attend one of the other meetings we have scheduled in the next (10) days if they couldn't come tonight. Remember also to hold in confidence the things we have discussed today/this evening. It's OK to tell people the general comments that were made, but please do not use anyone's name.

Finally, we have a very brief form to fill out that will help us in this research project. We would appreciate your completing the entire survey before you leave. TURN OFF RECORDER Record end time: _____

APPENDIX C. LETTER OF INVITATION TO STAKEHOLDERS FOR PARTICIPATION IN FOCUS GROUPS

March 24, 2008

Dear Community Leader,

In the next few weeks, several researchers from UNCG and NCA&T will be conducting community discussions about discrimination and barriers that hinder access to resources and opportunities in Greensboro. This is part of a study that the City of Greensboro's Department of Human Relations has initiated to examine the current issues in human relations. We would appreciate you participating in one of these discussions in April, as well as encouraging other community residents to attend.

A meeting will be held in each of the five districts of the city (listed below). After a brief informational session, smaller discussion groups will discuss the various topics and the kinds of people affected by discrimination. Refreshments will be served.

This is part of a 10-year follow up to the last State of Human Relations Report for the City of Greensboro, with a particular focus on housing, education, employment, and police services. The meeting dates, times and locations are as follows:

District 1: Sat., April 12, 10 a.m.-12 p.m., Shiloh Baptist Church, 1210 S. Eugene St.
District 2: Tues. April 8, 6-8 p.m., Peeler Recreation Ctr., 1300 Sykes Ave.
District 3: Thurs., April 3, 6-8 p.m., Christ Lutheran Church, 3600 Lawndale Ave.
District 4: Tues., April 8, 6-8 p.m., Peace UCC, 2714 W. Market St.
District 5: Sat., April 5, 10 a.m.-12 p.m., Immanuel Baptist Church, 2432 High Point Rd.

All residents of the Greensboro area are welcome to attend and share their perspectives and experiences at any one of these meetings regardless of which district they reside in. Participants' responses will remain anonymous in the final reports. Please pass on this information to your organization and your network. If you have any questions, please contact project coordinator Eric Jones (334-4133), or the City's Human Relations administrator Robert Nunn (373-2038).

Kind regards,

Ruth DeHoog, Head
UNCG Dept. of Political Science

Robert (Bob) Davis, Chair
NCA&TSU Dept. of Sociology and Social Work

APPENDIX D. STAKEHOLDERS (ORGANIZATIONS) LIST

Action Greensboro
    April Harris, Executive Director
    336-379-0821
Alternative Resources of the Triad (Out
    Greensboro)
    Richard Gray, President, Board of Directors
Beloved Community Center
    Reverend Nelson Johnson, Executive
    Director
    336-230-0001
Bennett College
    Dr. Julianne Malveaux, President
    900 E. Washington Street, Greensboro, NC
    27406
Beth David Synagogue
    Rabbi Eliezer Havivi
    336-294-0007
Black Child Development Institute of
    Greensboro
    Ms. June Valdes, Director
    336-230-2138
Catholic Dioceses of North Carolina
    Enedino Aquino,
    336-273-2343
Center for Independent Living
    Joy Shabazz, Assistant Director
    336-272-0501
Center for New North Carolinians
    Nolo Martinez, Acting Director
    336-256-1061
City and County Elected Officials
    (commissioners and council members)
Faith Action
    Mark Sills, Executive Director
    336-379-0037
Freeman, Dr. Pat, Director of Basic Skills
    Guilford Technical Community College
    336-334-4822
Greensboro Area Chamber of Commerce
    Other Voices Program
    Leadership Greensboro Program
Joyce Gorham-Worsley, Vice President of
    Leadership Programs
    336-387-8324

Greensboro Branch of the NAACP
    Reverend Cardes Brown, President
    336-273-1222, Alternative telephone: 336-
    273-5579
Greensboro Housing Coalition
    Beth McKee-Huger, Executive Director
    336-691-9521
Greensboro Jewish Federation
    336-852-5433, ext. 236 for Executive
    Director
Greensboro Merchants Association
    336-378-6350
Guilford County School System
    Eric Beacoats, Interim Superintendent
Guilford Native American Association, Inc.
    336-273-8686
International Montegnard Bible Church
    Y Hin Nie
    336-275-7979
Kilimanjaro, C. Vickie, Associate Publisher
    Carolina Peacemaker, 400 Summit Avenue,
    Greensboro, NC 27405
Lutheran Family Services
    Pat Priest, Vice President
    336-378-7881 or 336-553-1501
Mt. Zion Baptist Church
    Bishop George Brooks
National Conference for Community and
    Justice
    Susan Feit, Executive Director
    336-272-0359
The North Carolina African Services Coalition
    Omer Omer, Executive Director
    336-574-2677
North Carolina A&T State University
    Dr. Janice Brewington, Provost
Partnership Project (Undoing Racism)
    Nettie Coad, Executive Director
    336-271-6632 or 336-268-2067
Pulpit Forum
    Reverend Gregory Headen, President
    336-379-1133
Replacements, Ltd.
    Gary Palmer, Community Relations

336-697-3000, ext. 2243

Salvation Army Boys & Girls Club
Amos Quick, Executive Director
336-273-5572

Sickle Cell Disease Association of the Piedmont
Gladys Ashe Robinson, Executive Director
1102 E. Market Street, Greensboro, NC 27401

State Representatives (Elected officials—separate focus group)

Temple Emanuel Synagogue
Rabbi Fred Guttman
336-292-7899

Triad Chapter of the National Forum of Black Public Administrators (NFBPA)
Darryl K. Jones
336-373-2127

Triad Health Project
Addison Ore, Executive Director
336-275-1654

Truth and Reconciliation Commission
(See Beloved Community Center contact information.)

Triad Business and Professional Guild
Kathryn Larson
336-?

Undoing Racism Book Club
Larry Morse
336-334-7744 ext. 2381

Welfare Reform Liaison Project
Rev. Odell Cleveland, Executive Director
950 Revolution Mill Drive, Greensboro, NC 27405

Women's Resource Center
Ashley Brooks-Reckard, Executive Director
336-275-6090

Area Foundations & Potential Funders

Community Foundation of Greater Greensboro
Tara Sandercock, Vice President of Programs
336-379-9100

Bryan Foundation
Ed Kitchen, Vice President
336-691-9803

Cemala Foundation
Susan Schwartz, Executive Director
336-274-3541

Guilford Green Foundation
336-790-8419, Executive Director

United Way of Greater Greensboro
Sam Parker, Vice President Community Investment
336-378-6609

Weaver Foundation
Richard (Skip) Moore, President
336-378-7910

APPENDIX E. FLYER ADVERTISING FOCUS GROUPS (lettering correct, but not exact format)

COMMUNITY DISCUSSIONS

COME SHARE YOUR THOUGHTS AND EXPERIENCES ON THESE TOPICS:

HAVE YOU GOT SOMETHING TO SAY
ABOUT BARRIERS TO OPPORTUNITY IN GREENSBORO?

HOUSING

EDUCATION

EMPLOYMENT

LAW ENFORCEMENT

RESEARCHERS FROM UNCG AND NC A&T ARE DOING A COMPREHENSIVE STUDY
ON
BARRIERS AND OPPORTUNITIES IN GREENSBORO, AND

<u>WE WANT YOUR INPUT</u>

PLEASE ATTEND ONE OF THESE COMMUNITY DISCUSSION MEETINGS:
(refreshments will be served)

THURSDAY, APRIL 3, 6:00-8:00 P.M.
CHRIST LUTHERAN CHURCH, 3600 LAWNDALE AVE.

SATURDAY APRIL 5, 10:00 A.M. TO NOON
IMMANUEL BAPTIST CHURCH, 2432 HIGH POINT ROAD

TUESDAY, APRIL 8, 6:00-8:00 P.M.
PEELER RECREATION CENTER, 1300 SYKES AVE.

TUESDAY, APRIL 8, 6:00-8:00 P.M.
UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST, 2714 W. MARKET STREET

SATURDAY, APRIL 12 10:00 A.M. TO NOON
SHILOH BAPTIST CHURCH, 1210 S. EUGENE ST.

LET YOUR VOICE BE HEARD!

CONTACT ERIC JONES AT 334-4133 WITH QUESTIONS

APPENDIX F. FOCUS GROUP EXPERIENCE QUESTIONNAIRE

Please indicate below how strongly you agree or disagree with the following statements. Thank you again for your time and cooperation.

Question	Strongly Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neither Disagree nor Agree	Somewhat Agree	Strongly Agree
1. I was comfortable sharing my perspective in this group setting					
2. I felt free to express my own opinions					
3. I felt others were open to what I had to say					
4. I had things to say which I kept to myself					
5. I felt others dominated the discussion					
6. There were uncomfortable moments during the focus group					
7. I was happy to participate in this research					
8. I could have said more than I did					
9. I felt there were too many people in the group					
10. I will participate in a future focus group					

APPENDIX G. SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE.

FACE-TO-FACE INTERVIEW
Greensboro Human Relations Study 2008

□ **AGE CHECK:** Ensure that the respondent is 18 or older. If conducting a telephone interview, if person answering phone is not 18 or older, ask if an adult in the household can come to the phone.
□ **INTRODUCE YOURSELF: Hi. My name is _____ and I am a student at _____. We are trying to find out what people think about life in Greensboro. Would you have time to answer some quick questions? It will only take a few minutes. WAIT FOR RESPONSE. This isn't a test. There are no right or wrong answers. Before I start, I need to read a notice required by our university. REQUIRED NOTICE: This was initiated by the Greensboro Human Relations Department and Commission to understand relationships and access to services. There are no risks to you for participating in this survey. You can refuse to answer any questions. I won't ask for personally-identifying information, and you won't be identified by name. Ask me any questions you have. Here is information about the study, with people to contact if you have more questions.**

A. The first questions are about ways you might spend time with other people:	Never	Once a year or less	A few times a year	At least once a week	Almost every day
1. How often do you get together socially with *neighbors*?	−	□	⮒	◄	►
2. How often do you go to organization, club, or sports team events or meetings?	−	□	⮒	◄	►
3. How often do you attend religious services?	−	□	⮒	◄	►
	Never	Rarely	Some	Often	Always
4. How often do you feel satisfied with your neighborhood?	−	□	⮒	◄	►

B. These next questions are about everyday experiences. In your day-to-day life, how often have any of the following things happened to you in Greensboro?	Never	Once a year or less	A few times a year	At least once a week	Almost every day
5. You are treated with less courtesy than other people.	−	□	⮒	◄	►
6. You are treated with less respect than other people. Where does this occur?	−	□	⮒	◄	►
7. You receive poorer service than others at restaurants/stores.	−	□	⮒	◄	►
8. People act as if they think you are not smart.	−	□	⮒	◄	►
9. People act as if they are afraid of you.	−	□	⮒	◄	►
10. People act as if they think you are dishonest.	−	□	⮒	◄	►
11. People act as if they are better than you are.	−	□	⮒	◄	►
12. You are called names.	−	□	⮒	◄	►
13. You are insulted.	−	□	⮒	◄	►
14. You are threatened or harassed.	−	□	⮒	◄	►
15. You are physically assaulted.	−	□	⮒	◄	►

C. These next questions are about specific situations. When was the last time any of the following things happened to you in Greensboro?	Never	More than 12 months ago	Last 12 Months
16. Do you think you have ever been unfairly fired or denied a promotion?	–	☐	🖶
17. For unfair reasons, do you think you have ever not been hired for a job?	–	☐	🖶
18. Have you ever been unfairly stopped, searched or questioned by the police?	–	☐	🖶
19. Have you ever been physically threatened or abused by the police?	–	☐	🖶
20. Have you ever been unfairly discouraged by a teacher, advisor or someone in the educational system from continuing your education?	–	☐	🖶
21. Have you ever been unfairly prevented from moving into a neighborhood because the landlord or realtor refused to sell or rent you a house or apartment?	–	☐	🖶
22. Have you ever moved into a neighborhood where neighbors made life difficult for your or your family?	–	☐	🖶
23. Have you ever had to move because neighbors made life difficult for you or your family?	–	☐	🖶
24. Have you ever filed a formal complaint about any of the above experiences? With whom?	–	☐	🖶

D. These next questions ask you to think in general about the experiences you just shared.	Much worse	Somewhat worse	About same	Somewhat better	Much better
25. When it comes to discrimination, how does Greensboro compare with the last place you lived?	–	☐	🖶	◀	▶
26. Will amount and kind of discrimination for the next generation be much worse, somewhat worse, the same, somewhat better or much better?	–	☐	🖶	◀	▶

E. To ensure that we talk to a variety of people, we would like to ask a few questions about your background. Remember, your answers are anonymous; you won't be identified by your answers.

27. SEX   🏭 Female   ⛏ Male

28. How long have you lived in Greensboro? _____ yrs.

29. May I ask how old you are? _____ yrs.

👁 not from Greensboro

30. What is the highest grade or year of school you have completed?

☐ None

🖶 Some Grade School (1-8)

◀ Grade School (8th grade)

▶ Some High School

▲ High School/GED

▼ Some College or Trade School

◀◀ Completed College/Trade School

▶▶ Some Graduate School

⏮ Graduate or Professional Degree

31. How would you describe your race or ethnicity? (More than one is OK)

- Asian
- Black or African American
- Hispanic or Latino
- Native American, American Indian, Alaska Native
- Native Hawaiian, other Pacific Islander
- White or Caucasian
- Some other race or ethnicity:

32. Could you tell me if you have disabilities or a handicap of any kind?

- None
- Yes. What kind?

33. Where were you born?

- U.S.A. in (what city and state):

- Outside the U.S.A. in (what country):

34. What LANGUAGE do you speak most of the time at home?

- English
- Spanish
- Some other language:

35. What is your sexual orientation? (Wait for answer before offering choices. Use "sexual preference" if they don't understand. If needed, say "Would you want to date men or women?")

- Gay or lesbian
- Bisexual
- Heterosexual or straight
- Other:

36. Who do you live with?

- By myself
- I live with an unmarried partner
- I live with my spouse
- Other:

37. How many people live in your household right now, including you?

- One
- Two
- Three
- Four
- Five
- Six
- Seven
- Eight or more

F. The next few questions are about household information.

38. Do you own your home?

- I do not own my home
- ☐ I own my home (mortgage or no mortgage)

39. Are you a caregiver for any children under age 18 in your household?

- No
- ☐ Yes

40. Are you currently employed (includes self-employed)?

- Don't work for pay .
- ☐ Yes, work <u>less</u> than 30 hours a week (on average) .
- Yes, work <u>more</u> than 30 hours a week (on average)

41. Is your overall household income per year before taxes or deductions

- ☐ Under 20,000 dollars
- 20-40,000 dollars
- ◀ More than 40,000 dollars

- ▶ Other amount per month:
- ▲ Other amount per week:

42. What intersection do you live nearest? You may tell me the exact nearest intersection to where you live, or a major nearby intersection. IF NOT FROM GREENSBORO, THEN GET INTERSECTION NEAR WORK.

Street name:

Cross street name:

43. ASK IF 42 NOT ANSWERED. What is your zip code? (write in <u>&</u> fill bubbles)

Zip code:

☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
◀	◀	◀	◀	◀
▶	▶	▶	▶	▶
▲	▲	▲	▲	▲
▼	▼	▼	▼	▼
◀◀	◀◀	◀◀	◀◀	◀◀
▶▶	▶▶	▶▶	▶▶	▶▶
◀◀|	◀◀|	◀◀|	◀◀|	◀◀|

44. IF 42 and 43 NOT ANSWERED, What is the name of your neighborhood?

THANK YOU: Thank you for your time and your assistance. It was nice to meet you. The results of this study will be out sometime this summer. ASK ABOUT IN-DEPTH INTERVIEW

45. TIME OF INTERVIEW
46. LOCATION OF INTERVIEW
47. WAY THAT RESPONDENT WAS CONTACTED

APPENDIX H. ORAL PRESENTATION FOR INFORMED CONSENT

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA AT GREENSBORO
CONSENT TO ACT AS A HUMAN PARTICIPANT:
SHORT FORM WITH ORAL PRESENTATION

Project Director: <u>Dr. Ruth DeHoog</u>

<u>Description of the Study</u>: We are doing a study to find out about discrimination and other barriers to accessing services in Greensboro.

<u>Risks and Benefits</u>: Information from this survey may be used to lessen discrimination in Greensboro. Otherwise, there are no risks or benefits to you as an individual for participating in this survey.

<u>Burden</u>: If you agree to participate, the interview takes about 10 minutes. You have the right to ask questions or refuse to answer any and all questions during the group discussion.

<u>Confidentiality</u>. You will not be asked for personal information, and you will not be identified by full name. If you wish to have your name included in the report next to a quote, please let me know and I will have you sign a form; otherwise you we do not ask you to sign anything.

_____has just explained the purpose of this research project and what will be required of you. Any benefits and risks were also described.

_____has answered all of your current questions about your participation in this project. Your participation is voluntary. You are free to refuse to participate at any time without penalty or prejudice. To protect your privacy, you will not be identified by name as a participant.

The University of North Carolina at Greensboro Institutional Review Board—which makes sure that research with people follows US government regulations—has approved the research and this consent form. Questions about your rights as a participant in this study can be answered by calling Mr. Eric Allen at (336) 256-1482. Questions regarding the research itself will be answered by Dr. Eric Jones by calling (336) 334-4133 or Dr. Ruth DeHoog (336) 334-5989.

You are agreeing to participate in this project as explained to you.

You are being provided with this copy of the information presented to you.

APPENDIX I. PRIOR RESEARCH

This appendix of the report brings together findings from past studies and press reports concerning human relations in Greensboro. The focus is on the ten years since the last human relations study commissioned by the City of Greensboro, although some studies and census data from prior decades are included to understand long-term trends. In addition, the sections below include an overview of the different groups that live in Greensboro, as well as how they experience the four main sectors of interest in this study: employment/economics, housing, education, law enforcement.

Demographic Overview of Greensboro

The Greensboro Planning Department (2007) estimates Greensboro's population to be 244,610 in 2007, with an annual growth rate of about 1.1 percent since 2005, when the population was estimated to be 223,891.[2,3] Greensboro's approximately 245,000 residents have a median age of 34 years, younger than the national median of 36 years (Greensboro Planning Department 2007; US Census Bureau 2006). Fifty-three percent of the population is female, and 47 percent is male, as compared to national figures of 51 percent female and 49 percent male (US Census Bureau 2006). Greensboro's racial composition is a little over 50 percent white and a little more than a third black, with the remaining 9 percent being comprised of other groups (US Census Bureau 2006). Fourteen percent of the people over age five reported a disability, including 39 percent of those over age 65 (US Census Bureau ACS 2006).

Figures 2a-2e below display overall population density for Greensboro in 2007—as well as specifically for the Asian, African American, Hispanic and Caucasian populations.

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[2]   Using the American Community Survey Data, Debbage (2007) differs in his 2005 estimates of population numbers (231,962) from Greensboro Planning Department estimates for the same year (238,440) using its own data, meaning that Debbage's growth rate averages to 0.7 percent per year from 2000 to 2005, whereas the city's figures put it at an average of 1.1 percent growth per year for the same period.

[3]   The current study was completed prior to the annexation of new areas by the city of Greensboro 7/1/2008. The new totals are not included here.
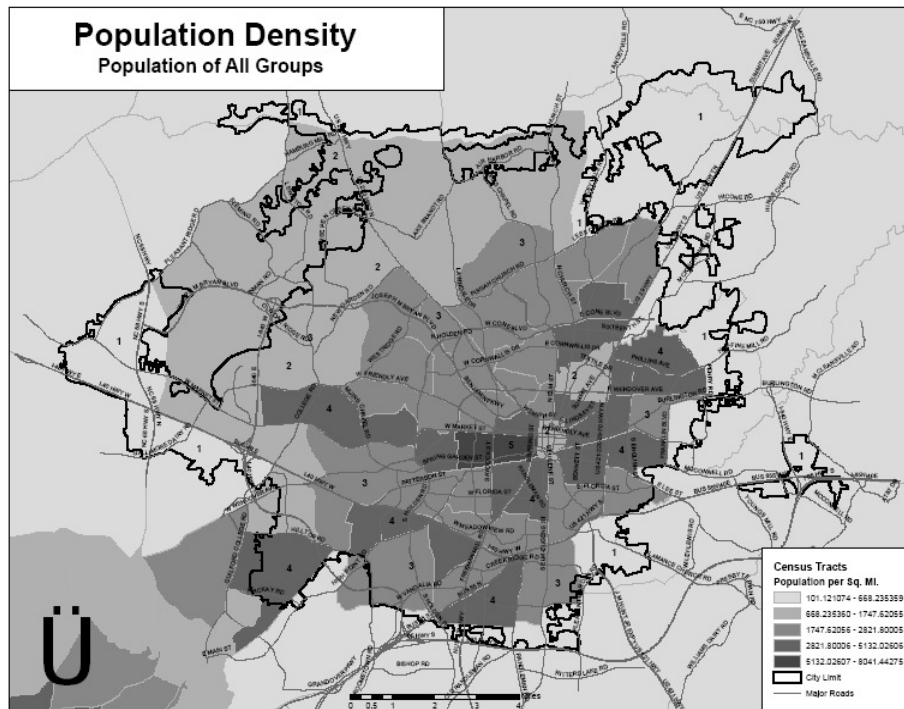
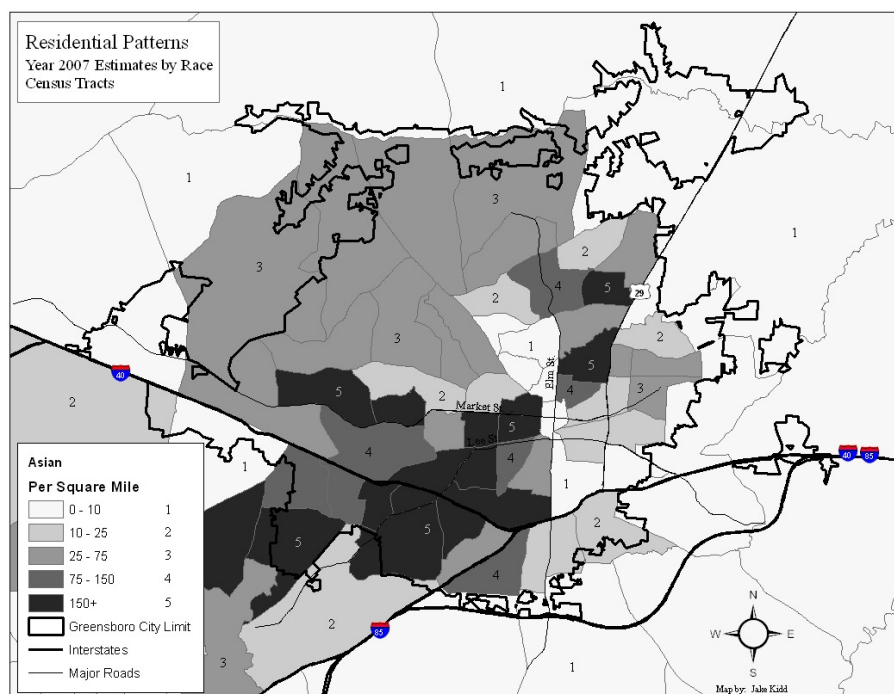**Figure 2a. Greensboro population density (2007).**
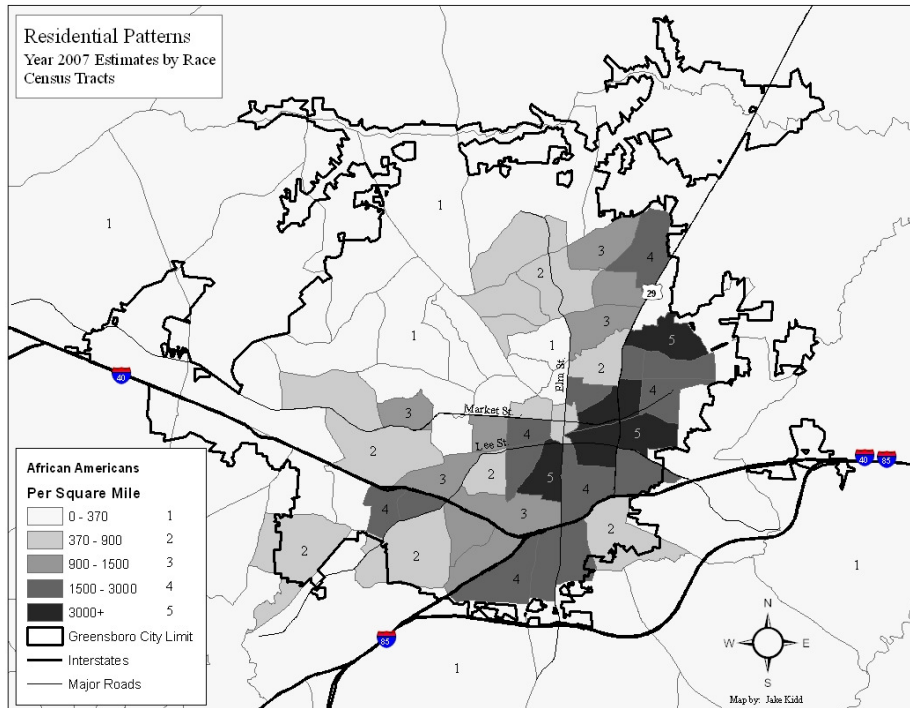

Figure 2b. Asian population density (2007).

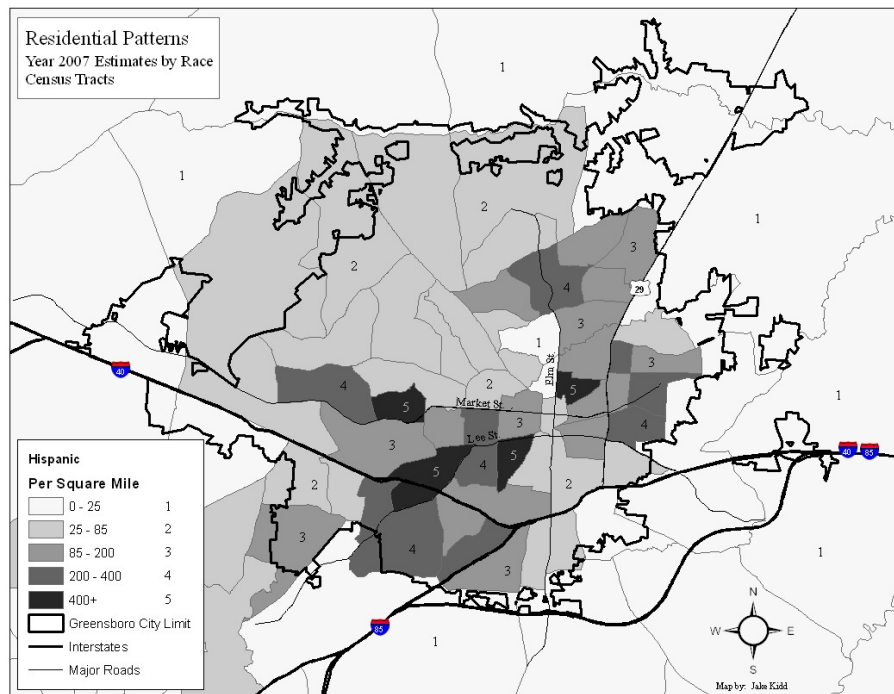**Figure 2c. African American population density (2007).**

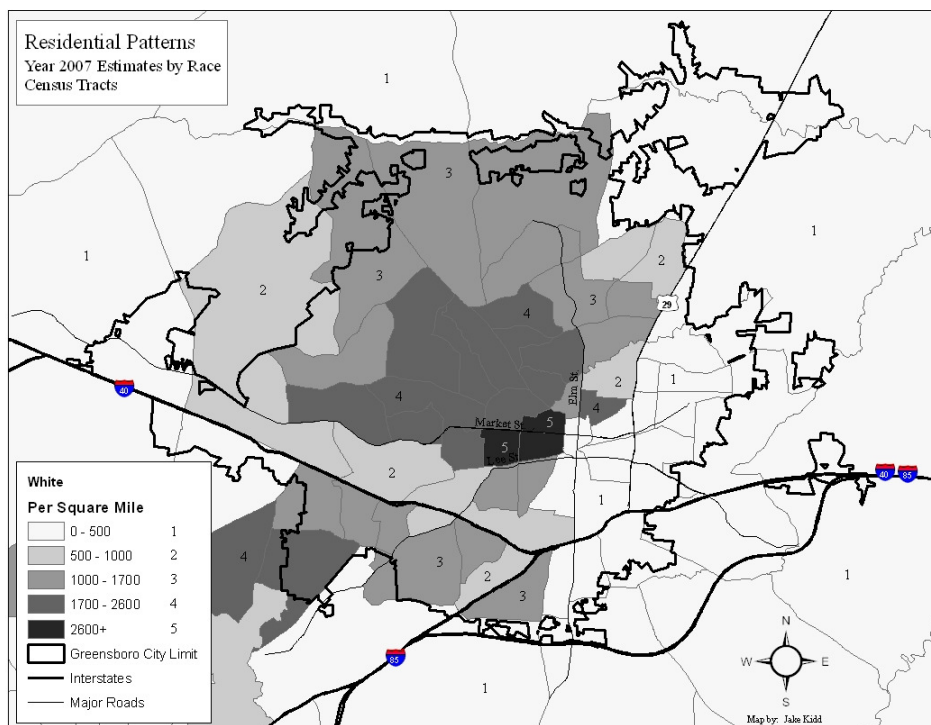

Figure 2d. Hispanic population density (2007).

Figure 2e. White or Caucasian population density (2007).

Immigration

Of Greensboro's current residents, 10 percent were born outside the U.S., and 45 percent were born outside of North Carolina (Table 1) (US Census Bureau ACS 2006). The city's population is about 7 percent Hispanic. Among those aged five and older (Table 2), 13 percent speak a language other than English at home, and about half of these reported that they did not speak English very well (US Census Bureau ACS 2006). Refugees constitute 10 percent of the immigrant population in Greensboro, and non-refugee immigrants – both documented and undocumented – make up 90 percent (Kane 2006).

Table 1. Place of Birth of Greensboro Residents

Born in state	55%
Born out of state but in U.S.	45%
Born outside U.S.	10%
Source: US Census Bureau American Community Survey 2006	

Table 2. Language Spoken at Home by Greensboro Residents

Language	Percentage
English	77.0%
Spanish	7.4%
Some other language	15.6%
Source: US Census Bureau American Community Survey 2006	

Roughly 2.6 percent of the foreign-born population living in Guilford County do not speak or

have extremely limited proficiency in English (City of Greensboro Department of Housing and Community Development, undated).

Gay, lesbian, bisexual and transsexual

The proportion of gay and lesbian couples living in Greensboro is close to the national norm, with a Gay Index[4] score of 103, indicating that the proportion of residents reporting same-sex partnerships is three percent higher than it is nationally (Gates and Ost 2004). In North Carolina, Greensboro falls between Raleigh (index of 106) and Chapel Hill (index of 97) (Figure 3).
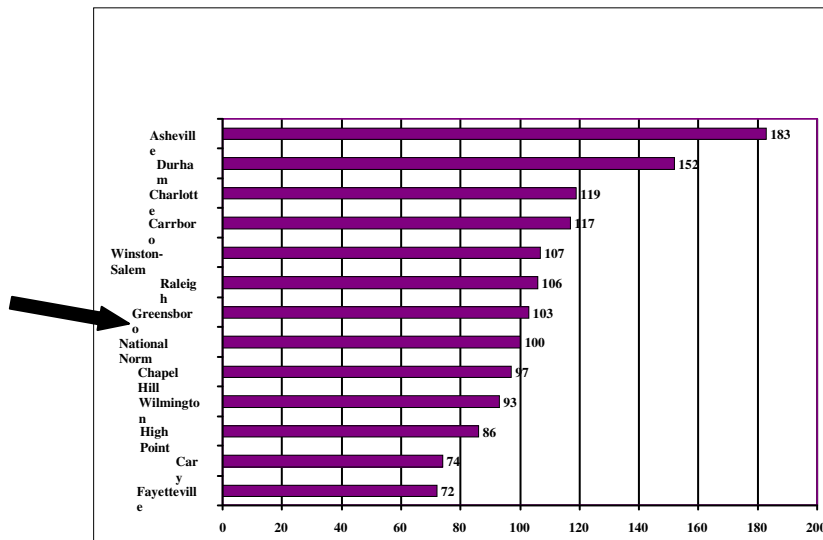

Figure 3. Gay Index scores for select cities in North Carolina (Gates and Ost 2004)

The city's score breaks down into two subscales: a gay male index of 101 and a lesbian index of 105 (Gates and Ost 2004). Richard Florida (2002) claims that the Gay Index is a reasonable proxy for an area's openness to different kinds of people and ideas, and so can be used as a general diversity measure. It also correlates strongly with his own measures of high-tech growth.

Race and Ethnicity

Since 1960, Greensboro has gone from being approximately three-quarters white and one-quarter Black (with a scant .3 percent "other" recorded by the Census Bureau that year) to 52 percent white, 36 percent Black, 4 percent Asian, 2 percent Native American, and 2 percent reporting "some other race" in 2006 (Figure 4 and Table 3) (Greensboro Planning Department 1993 and 2003; US Census 2006). The Census Bureau did not begin collecting data about Hispanic ethnicity until the year 1980. In that year and in 1990, the Census counted .4 percent of Greensboro's population as being Hispanic, irrespective of race. By 2000, Greensboro's Hispanic presence had surged to 4.4 percent, and by 2006, to 7 percent (Greensboro Planning Department 2003, US Census 2006).

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[4]   The Gay Index is a comparative measure of the proportion of gay and lesbian households in a certain area relative to the national norm, based on US Census 2000 data on households reporting same-sex unmarried partnerships (Gates and Ost, 2004). The index is not a count of the entire gay, lesbian, or bisexual population, as it only captures information about census respondents who report living together. Rather, the index provides information on how a community compares to the national average of households headed by same-sex couples.
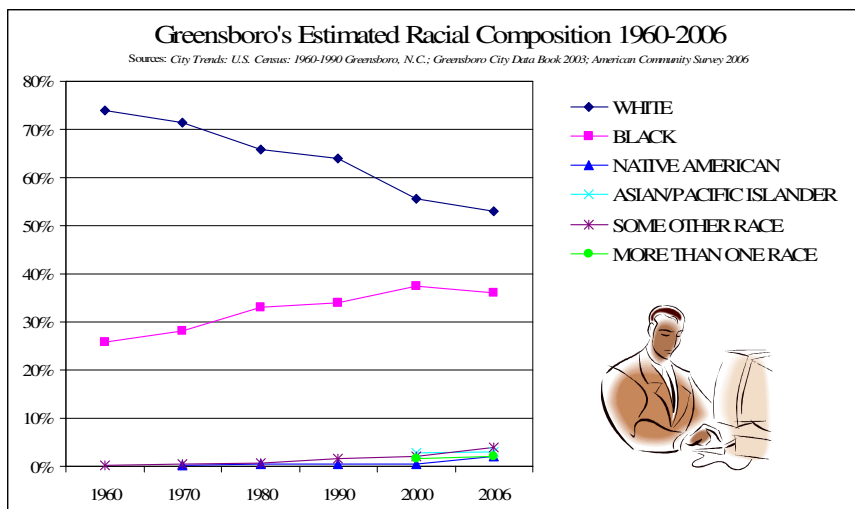
Figure 4. Change in Greensboro's Estimated Racial Composition Change 1960-2006

Table 3. Change in Greensboro's Estimated Racial Composition Change 1960-2006

	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000	2006
WHITE	74%	71%	66%	64%	55%	53%
BLACK	26%	28%	33%	34%	37%	36%
NATIVE AMERICAN		0.3%	0.5%	0.5%	0.4%	2%
ASIAN/PACIFIC ISLANDER					2.8%	3%
MULTIRACIAL					2.1%	2%
SOME OTHER RACE	0.3%	0.5%	0.8%	1.7%	2.1%	4%
Sources: *City Trends: US Census: 1960-1990 Greensboro, N.C.; Greensboro City Data Book 2003; US Census Bureau ACS 2006*						

Whether owing to demographic change, or to actual or perceived transgressions or injustices, people's positive perceptions of race relations in Greensboro have dropped considerably in the past four years. This decline is primarily among the white population. In 2003 four in 10 of Greensboro whites felt race relations where in good shape. Today the figure has fallen to three in 10 (Figure 5). The result is that white perceptions of race relations now are similar to those of Blacks in terms of the number of people seeing race in relations in "good shape."
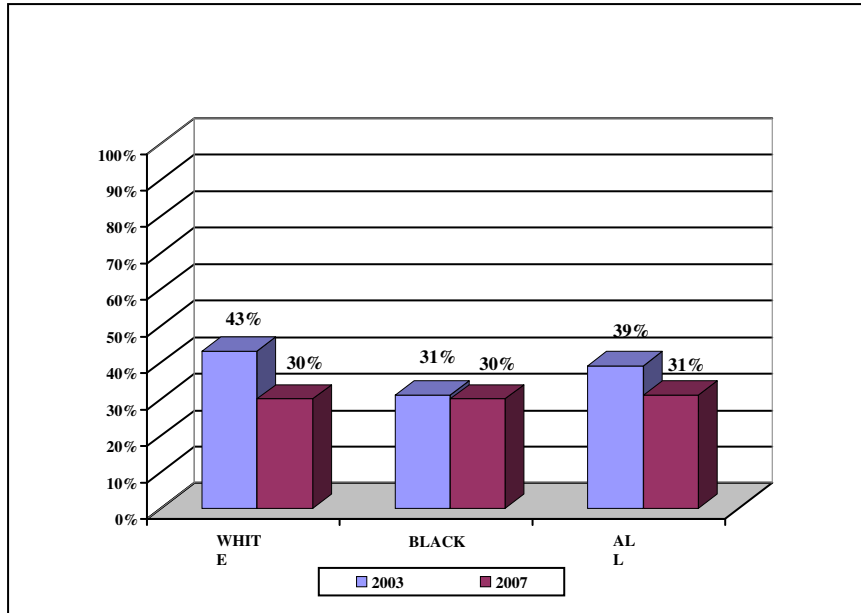
Figure 5. Percentage of Black and white Greensboro residents reporting that race relations are in "good shape," for 2003 and 2007 (Source: Cooper and Secrest 2007).
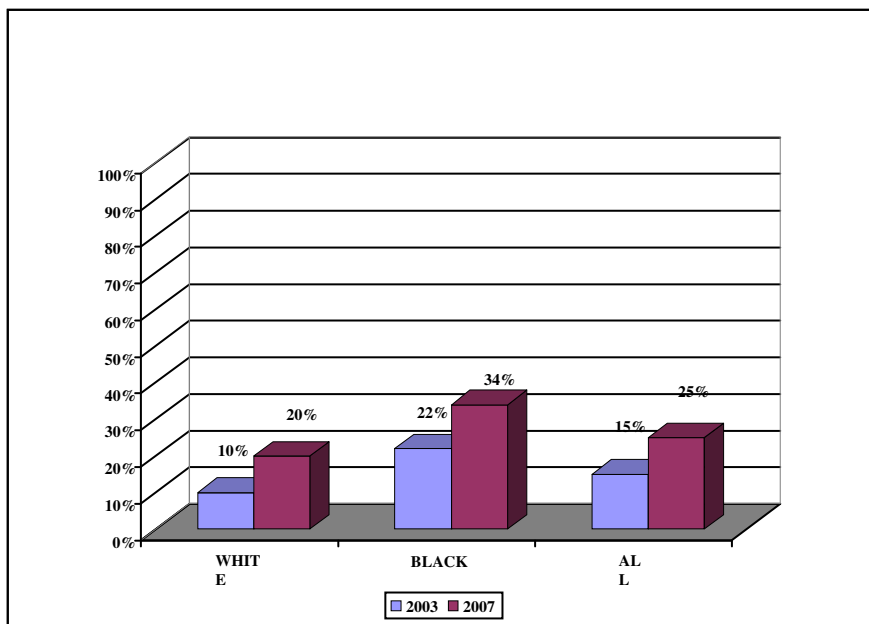

Figure 6. Percentage of Black and white Greensboro residents reporting that race relations are a "major problem," for 2003 and 2007 (Source: Cooper and Secrest 2007)

An increase in negative responses about perceptions of race relations (Figure 6) was reported in the 2007 Cooper and Secrest study vs. the 2003 study. Whites had a 100 percent increase in this category, moving from 10 percent to 20 percent. The number of Blacks who gave the "major problem" response saw a 50 percent increase, with a change from 22 percent to 34 percent.

Employment Profile of Greensboro

The 2006 median household income in Greensboro is estimated at $37,947 (US Census Bureau 2006). The national median income that year is estimated to be $48,201 and in the South, $43,884 (DeNavas-Walt et al 2007). Between 2000 and 2005, earnings in Greensboro declined (Alexander 2006). Since 2006, as with the South as a whole, the decline in real income has stopped, but not reversed, leaving earnings growth flat (DeNavas-Walt et al 2007). However, earnings in Greensboro have not kept pace with cities in the surrounding region (Debbage 2007). Greensboro has a greater share of lower-paying jobs in the manufacturing and retail sectors and a smaller share of higher-paying professional jobs (see Table 4) (Debbage and Gallaway 2007).

Table 4. Employment Sector Share: Greensboro Compared to Other Cities in the Region[5]

Employment Sector	Greensboro Employment Share	Selected Cities' Average Share
Manufacturing	14.6%	10.3%
Retail	12.7%	10.5%
Transportation	4.8%	4.3%
Arts/Entertainment	9.5%	9.5%
Financial Services	8.0%	8.6%
Professional	9.8%	11.2%
Education/Health	21.2%	23.2%
Other	19.4%	22.3%
Source: Debbage and Gallaway 2007		

The US Census Bureau (2006) reports Greensboro's official unemployment rate to be 6.6 percent; for whites it is 4 percent, while for African-Americans it is 9.8 percent[6]. Compared to whites in Greensboro, Black residents are younger, less affluent, and have less formal education, although a more robust professional-executive stratum of African-Americans emerged between 2003 and 2007 (Cooper and Secrest, 2007). Kane and Parsons (1996) found that throughout the 1990s, Black respondents were far more likely than white respondents to believe that racial discrimination in hiring was a barrier to equal employment for Black job-seekers. Cooper and Secrest (2007) found across the districts that more residents were optimistic in 2007 than in 2003 that Greensboro is attracting new jobs and economic development, although a significant portion still believes that there are problems in this area.

When the 1998 study of human relations was conducted (Greensboro Human Relations Department et al. 1998), North Carolina led the nation in Hispanic population growth from 1995 to 1999, with Mexican migrants often beginning as agricultural workers and then moving into other low-wage sectors such as poultry processing (outside of Greensboro), and construction and service work (in Greensboro as well as other North Carolina cities) (Smith-Nonini 2005).[7]

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[5] Debbage and Gallaway (2007) compared Greensboro to several other cities in North Carolina (Charlotte, Durham, Raleigh, and Winston-Salem) and elsewhere in the Southeast (Chattanooga, TN; Columbia, SC; Louisville, KY; Greenville, SC; and Richmond, VA).

[6] Data was not available for other races.

[7] Agricultural labor contractors who move Mexican work crews in the Southern states will usually not go north of the North Carolina-Virginia line, because Virginia lies in a different jurisdictional region of the US Department of Labor, one which enforces the Migrant and Seasonal Agricultural Workers' Protection Act (MSAWPA) more strictly (Griffith 2005).

Debbage (2007) reports a poverty rate[8] of 17.3 percent in Greensboro, although the US Census Bureau (2006) reports 19 percent for the same time period. This rate is higher than most North Carolina cities; only Winston-Salem has a higher poverty rate (Debbage 2007). The Census Bureau (2006) reported poverty rates as 12.6 percent nationally, 14 percent in the South, and 17 percent in principle cities across the US. Poverty varies by family status, age, and gender. In Greensboro, women heading households with children under 18 have the astonishing poverty rate of 46.9 percent (US Census Bureau 2006). Breakdowns by race were not available. Finally, some residents of a local homeless shelter work 40 hours a week but are unable to make ends meet and afford permanent housing (Jovanovic et al. 2007b).

Housing Dynamics in Greensboro
The Greensboro Planning Department (2007) reports that 99,566 (93 percent) of the city's 107,060 housing units were occupied. The median monthly housing costs for mortgaged owners was $1,167, non-mortgaged owners $396, and renters $707 (Table 4). The following percentages of these groups spent more than 30 percent of their household income on housing: 37 percent of homeowners with mortgages, 14 percent of homeowners without mortgages, and 54 percent of renters (US Census Bureau 2006).

Table 5. Housing Costs in Greensboro

	Median monthly housing costs	Percent spending more than 30% of income on housing costs
Renters	$707	54%
Mortgaged owners	$1,167	37%
Non-mortgaged owners	$396	14%
Source: US Census Bureau 2006		

According to the most recent Home Mortgage Disclosure Act data (HMDA - 2006) there were 65,970 loan applications in the Greensboro - Highpoint Metropolitan Statistical Area (MSA) in 2006 (compared with 69,503 in 2005 and 62,290 in 2004). Most were for conventional loans (93.4% or 61,459 applications) followed by applications for Federal Housing Administration (FHA) loans (5.5% or 3,634 loans), Department of Veteran's Affairs (VA) loans (1.0% or 670 loans), and finally 27 applications for Farm Service Agency (FSA) or Rural Housing Loans (RHS) loans.

Public housing makes up 5 percent of the city's housing stock and consists of 2,250 units in both large housing projects and smaller "scattered" public housing sites, and 2,750 private properties where occupants use Section 8 assistance vouchers to subsidize rent (Greensboro Planning Department 2007).

In Guilford County 35 percent of residents rent and 65 percent own the homes they live in (Greensboro Planning Department, 2003). Out of a total of 407,071 households, 49.2 percent were occupied by white owners, 13.3 percent by Black owners, and 2.5 percent by owners of

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[8] The poverty rate is the percentage of the population that has lived in poverty in the 12 months previous to data collection.

some other race (Table 6). Irrespective of race, Hispanic (an ethnic category that can cut across racial groups) owners made up 0.9 percent of county households. Of all the households, 16.1 percent were occupied by white renters, 15.5 percent by Black renters, and 3.3 percent by renters of some other race. Hispanic renters made up 2.8 percent of the households counted.

Table 6. Guilford County Homeownership by Race and Ethnic Origin, 2000

Race of ethnic origin of head of household	Owner-occupied households (absolute number)	Owner-occupied households (percentage of all households)	Renter-occupied households (absolute number)	Renter-occupied households (percentage of all households)	Total households (absolute number)	Total households (percentage)
White head of household	200,517	49.2%	65,667	16.1%	266,184	65.4%
Black head of household	54,287	13.3%	62,937	15.5%	117,224	28.8%
Other head of household	10,058	2.5%	13,605	3.3%	23,663	5.8%
Total households	264,862	65.1%	142,209	34.9%	407,071	100.0%
Hispanic head of household*	3,711	0.9%	11,320	2.8%	15,031	3.7%

Source: Greensboro City Data Book 2003 (online).

The link between low income and housing problems has been well established (Yzaguirre 1999), as has the link between race and socioeconomic status, even considering some improvement over the decades (Blank 2001). The Greensboro-Winston-Salem area is one of the 30 metropolitan areas in the United States with the largest Black populations, and its geographic segregation levels are somewhat lower than most in the South and much lower than those in the North (Massey 2000). Its geographic segregation scores (Table 7) mean that over half the Black population would have to move in order to achieve total geographic integration.

Table 7. Trends in Segregation and Isolation in Cities with Largest Black Populations, 1970-1990

	Dissimilarity Index			Isolation Index		
	1970	1980	1990	1970	1980	1990
Northern Cities Average Scores	84.5	80.1	77.8	68.7	66.1	68.9
Southern Cities Average Scores	75.3	68.3	66.5	69.3	63.5	64.9
Greensboro-Winston-Salem Scores	65.4	56.0	60.9	56.1	50.1	55.5
Source: Massey 2000						

According to a 2008 analysis of HMDA data for Greensboro (Sills and Blake 2008a) minorities were less likely to be approved for a loan than non-Hispanic white applicants. In 2006, more than two-thirds (70.3%) of applications made by non-Hispanic white primary applicants were approved. In comparison, only 54.9% of applications from Non-White primary applicants were approved. This 15.4 percentage point difference was found to be statistically significant. Rates of approval were fairly consistent over the three-year period studied (2004 to 2006). In logistic regression modeling, the probability that mortgage applications from minority primary applicants

would be approved was 47.0% lower that that of comparable non-Hispanic white applicants. Poor credit history was found to be the primary reason for denial.

Also, as illustrated in Figure 7, housing code violations in Greensboro have been shown to occur both in greater number and are open for longer durations (as depicted by red and orange flags) in areas corresponding to the greatest percentage of minorities, highest poverty, and most rental units.
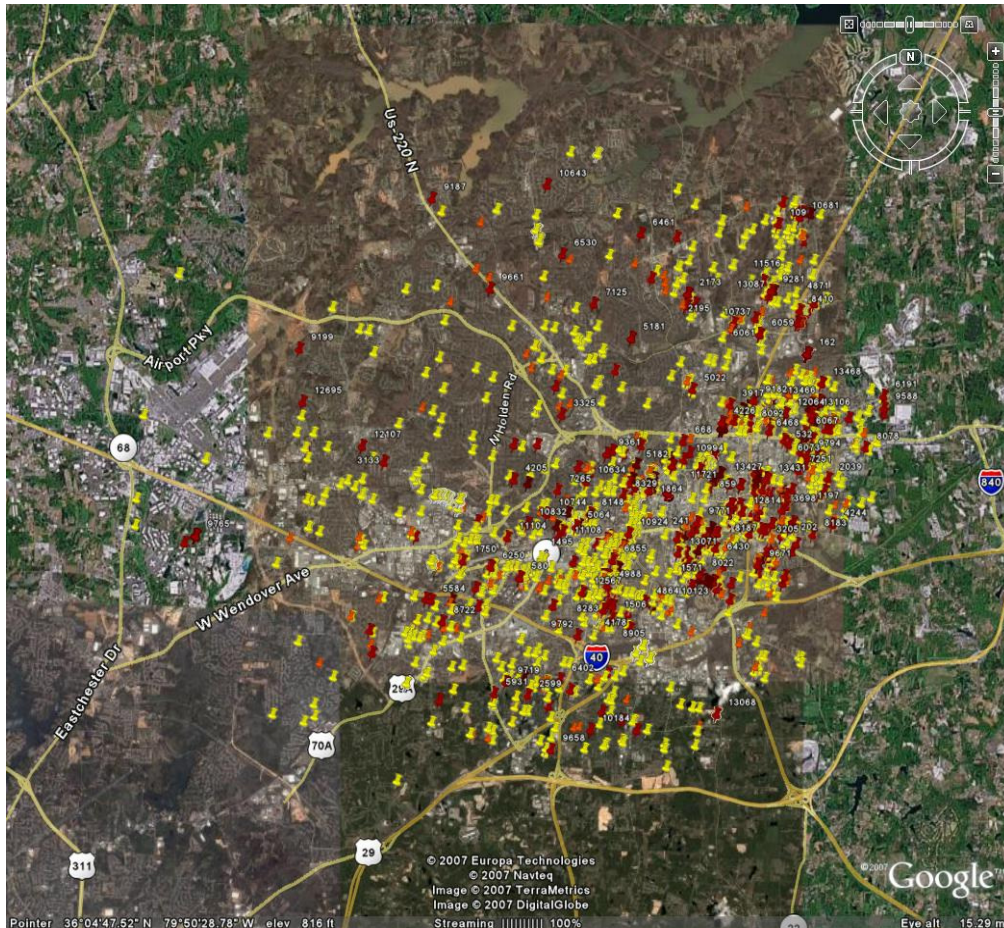

Figure 7. Greensboro Housing Code Violations (Sills and Blake 2008a).

Spatial Segregation
Greensboro's five city council districts can serve as a rough proxy for the city's broad spatial-racial patterns (Figure 8). Cooper and Secrest (2007) estimate the following patterns, with no reference to Hispanics or to other demographic characteristics:

District 1 (southeast Greensboro): 70 percent Black, 30 percent white;
District 2 (northeast Greensboro) is 62 percent Black, 37 percent white;
District 3 (northern northwest Greensboro) is 10 percent Black, 90 percent white;
District 4 (western northwest Greensboro) is 13 percent Black, 87 percent white; and
District 5 (southwest Greensboro) is 19 percent Black, 81 percent white.

Taken together, Districts 1 and 2 are 66 percent Black and Districts 3, 4, and 5 are only 14 percent Black. Due to the absence of other significant demographic characteristics, we must use

caution interpreting the results of their study. Differences of opinion among districts may be associated with economic and other factors in addition to race.
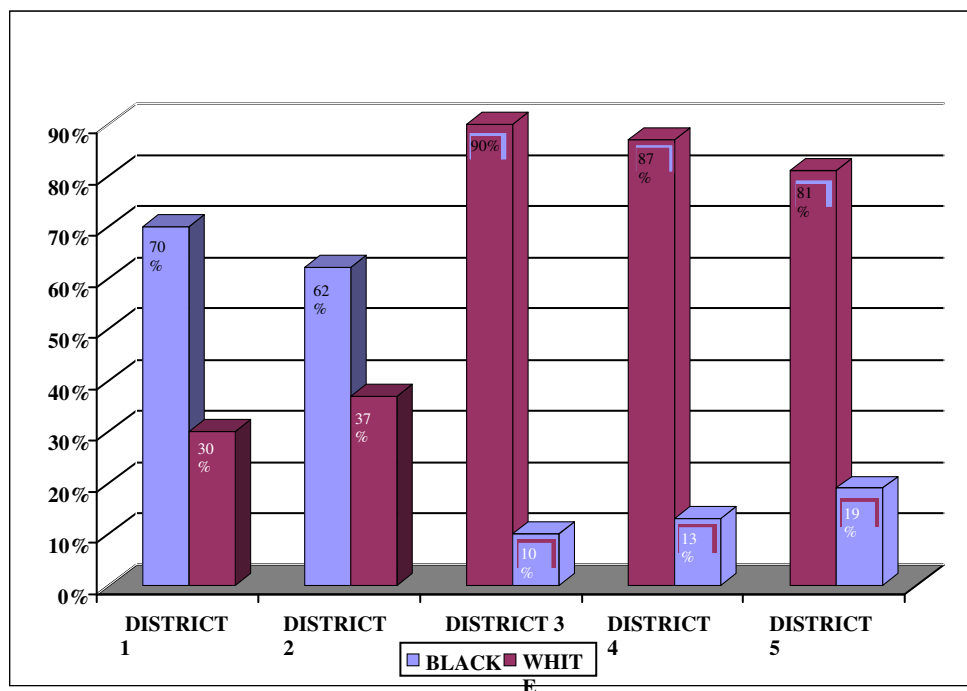

Figure 8. Greensboro City Council Districts by Race (Source: Cooper and Secret 2007)

Landlords often leave rental houses occupied by low-income residents in disrepair, because they know the occupants have nowhere else to go, and some landlords threaten undocumented residents with deportation if they complain about substandard conditions (Kane 2006). A recent paired-tester audit study in Greensboro found that some landlords and rental agents discriminate against Black and Hispanic home-seekers and steer white home-seekers away from properties in neighborhoods with high concentrations of minorities (Sills and Blake 2008b). A 2006 study commissioned by the Community Foundation of Greater Greensboro, *Comprehensive Housing Report: Greensboro 2006*, states that waiting lists of over 4,400 for federally-subsidized housing do not even reflect the severity of the problem since the waiting lists are capped.

The Homeless Prevention Coalition of Guilford County coordinates an annual one-night count in January of homeless people in Guilford County. The count found 1269 homeless in Guilford county according to the definition of the US Department of Housing and Urban Development, up from 1108 in 2006, and 834 in 2005 (Homeless Prevention Coalition of Guilford County 2007, 2006).

Educational Attainment
In Greensboro, where the overall unemployment rate is 6.6 percent, adults with a college degree have a 2.8 percent unemployment rate, while those with a high school education or less have rates of 7 percent and higher (US Census 2006). Just over one third of Greensboro residents aged 25 and over graduated from college and 64 percent have a high school education or less (Table 8) (US Census 2006).

Table 8. Educational Attainment Greensboro Adults Over Age 25

College graduate or higher	35%
High school but not college graduate	50%
Less than high school	14%
Total	99%
Source: US Census Bureau ACS 2006	

Cooper and Secrest (2007) provide some evidence[9] of stability in Greensboro's educational attainment 2003-2007, with less than one percent decrease in the percent with a high school level of education or less, and less than a one percent increase in those having some college or more. In terms of black-white[10] disparities, 45 percent of Black respondents reported never attending college, whereas 70 percent of white respondents reported at least some college.

Schools are a critical service in a community because of their effect on the overall economy, the large percentage of local tax dollars that go to schools, and the contentious place that education has in local politics and in racial issues. Cooper & Secrest (2007) reported an 11 percent drop between 2003 and 2007 in respondents choosing the "good shape" response about the state of schools, and a resulting increase in those choosing "minor problem" (+4 percent) or "major problem" (+7 percent). A higher percentage of African Americans shifted their responses, with 17 percent shifting to the problem categories.

With 71,176 students enrolled in the 2006-07 academic year, Guilford County Schools ranks among the top six large, urban school systems in North Carolina (Guilford Education Alliance 2007). The others are Cumberland, Durham, Forsyth, Mecklenburg and Wake counties. A little over half the students enrolled in Guilford County Schools are Greensboro residents (Debbage 2007). Enrollment in the school system has been growing steadily at a rate of about 2.1 percent a year since 2000.

The Guilford County school system has a high school graduation rate of 79.7 percent, higher than the state average of 69.4 percent and the same as or higher than the five other large systems (Guilford Education Alliance 2007). The Guilford County dropout rate of 2.98 percent is lower than schools in Mecklenburg, Wake, Forsyth, and Durham counties[11] (Debbage 2006). However, in terms of the percentage of students graduating in four years or less, at 63.5 percent, the Guilford County school system ranks lowest of the five major school systems in the state, which average 72.6 percent (Debbage 2007).[12] The suspension rates in Guilford County Schools vary by race, with Black students overrepresented (Guilford Education Alliance 2007). Analysis of suspension rates by economic status and at the school and neighborhood level is not available.

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[9] Cooper and Secrest's (2007) findings are somewhat difficult to interpret, as their totals of reportedly mutually-exclusive and exhaustive categories add up to 89% and 90% rather than 100%.

[10] Cooper and Secrest (2007) do not report on races other than black and white.

[11] Debbage (2007) did not include Fayetteville's Cumberland County Schools in his comparative analysis of Greensboro relative to other cities in the region.

[12] Compared with school systems with a comparable percentage of students taking the SAT (Durham, Mecklenburg, and Wake), Guilford County's SAT average score (1464 of a possible 2400 points in the year 2007) are similar to all but Wake County Schools (Raleigh) – which consistently outperform most other North Carolina school systems on a variety of measures (Guilford Education Alliance 2007; Debbage 2007).

Foreign-born students make up roughly 10 percent of the students enrolled in Guilford County Schools (Guilford Education Alliance 2007). For several years, Guilford County Schools have failed to meet federal testing goals among students with limited English proficiency, although scores for English proficient students are also relatively low. For example, in 2006-2007, 20 percent of tenth-grade students with a limited proficiency in speaking English received passing grades on reading as compared to 59 percent of the remaining students. Hispanic, Asian and other immigrant children Greensboro score lower in all categories than white American students (Guilford Education Alliance 2007). The quality of education for immigrants is affected by the funds allotted to the schools where most of these students study. In Greensboro, a majority of foreign-born students live and go to school on the east and south sides of the city.

Law Enforcement and Justice System
The Greensboro Visions study (Greensboro Visions 1991) reported that 74 percent of those surveyed said that police services in Greensboro were excellent or good, versus 16 percent fair and 7 percent poor, although 42 percent said that the frequency of police patrolling in their neighborhood was insufficient. Also, 40 percent of respondents agreed with the statement "the poor are treated more harshly than others" by police. More recently, trust in Greensboro's local police is perhaps higher than what exists for public officials yet is still lower than the national average. In the Social Capital study (Easterling and Foy 2006), 77 percent of Greensboro's residents said they could trust the police a lot or sometimes. In a study by Jovanovic et al. (2007b) among 91 homeless individuals using shelters, only 67 percent of the homeless felt they could trust police a lot or sometimes.

Resident Attitudes About City Government
More recent studies polled respondents about city government in general rather than the police department in particular. Secrest and Cooper (2007) reported a drop in Greensboro residents giving the city government positive ratings, from 49 percent in 2003, to 41 percent in 2007; groups showing more pronounced declines are residents of eastern Greensboro (City Council Districts 1 and 2), Black women, and lower-income Black residents (see Figure 8). As with the changes in perception of race relations discussed above, this 2003-2007 period corresponds exactly with the Truth and Reconciliation process, as well as with the investigation of the "black book" and the firing of police chief David Wray, all high profile and racially-imbued issues.
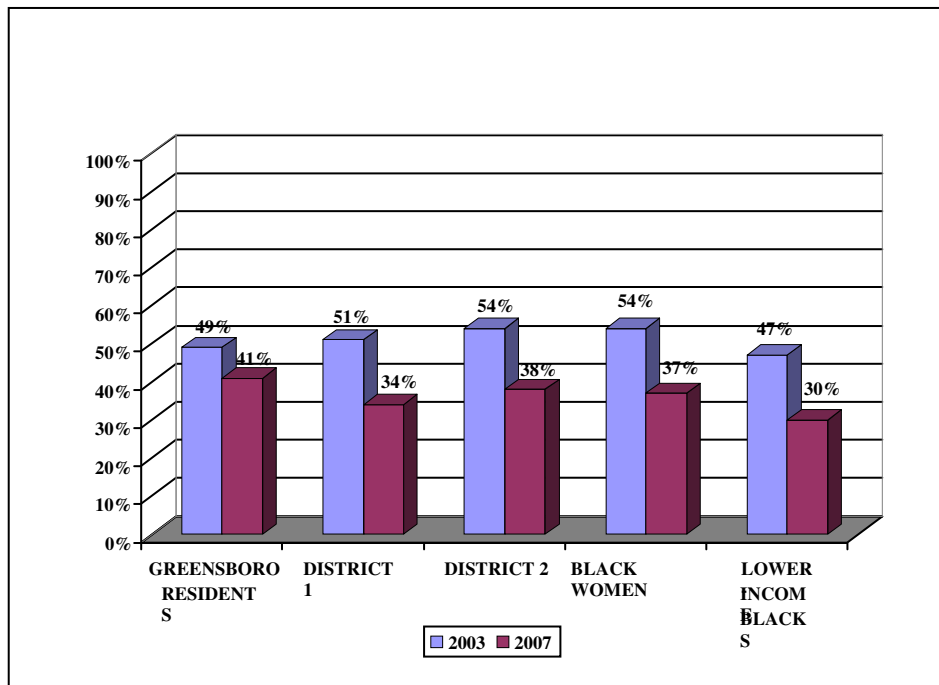
Figure 8. Changes in positive ratings of City government, by select groups in 2003 and 2007 (Cooper and Secrest 2007)[13]

The above findings about resident attitudes toward city government match Kane and Parsons' (1996) assessment of attitudes in previous decades: four surveys between 1976 to 1996 found that opinions about city government, race relations, and a myriad of other city issues were roughly split between more positive perceptions from affluent and white residents, and more critical assessments from African-Americans and residents of the City Council districts 1 and 2 (east Greensboro). Free delivery of newspapers to low-income Greensboro residents in 2005 showed that as they increased their news knowledge, their community involvement levels improved simultaneously (Jovanovic et al. 2007a), despite feeling that in general they do not see their views expressed by media nor addressed by politicians and city leaders.

Finally, a study of homeless individuals indicated differences in levels of trust in local government as well. While 36 percent of Greensboro's 2006 Social Capital respondents indicated they could trust local government just about always or most of the time (Easterling and Foy 2006), only 23 percent of homeless interviewees concurred (Jovanovic et al. 2007b). Nearly 39 percent of the homeless said they could hardly ever trust the local government to do what is right, compared to 12 percent of Greensboro's Social Capital survey participants.

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13   The districts discussed in this report refer to Districts 1-5 prior to the summer 2008 city annexations.